

THE NEW CHAPTER OF THE UNITED STATES-INDONESIA DEFENSE RELATIONS:  
REENGAGEMENT THROUGH IMET

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by

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

## ABSTRACT

THE NEW CHAPTER OF THE UNITED STATES-INDONESIA DEFENSE RELATIONS: REENGAGEMENT THROUGH IMET, by Major Frega Wenas Inkiriwang, 117 pages.

Indonesia is of strategic importance for the U.S. Hence, the U.S. has contributed to helping the country develop its military after Indonesia's independence. Various programs, including International Military Education and Training (IMET), have given Indonesian military personnel access to U.S. doctrine and tactics. In fact, the two countries view IMET as an indicator of their defense relationship. However, due to the dynamics and changes in priorities of interest between the U.S. and Indonesia, the IMET program has experienced ups and downs. For over a decade, the U.S. Congress imposed a ban on the IMET program for the Indonesian military.

During this period, Indonesia's access to U.S. professional military education was significantly reduced. Nevertheless, after negotiations and shifts in U.S. national interest priorities after 9/11, the U.S. fully resumed the IMET program for Indonesia. Now the two countries build their mutual and complementary interests through IMET as well as through other programs including exercises and training in counter-terrorism, maritime security, and stability operations. This helps foster personal and professional relationships which support good nation-to-nation relations. Understanding the causes and the processes that resulted in the U.S. ban on IMET for Indonesia assists both countries in maintaining and strengthening their relationship.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE .....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
ACRONYMS.....	viii
ILLUSTRATIONS .....	ix
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
Thesis Question.....	9
Definition and Terms .....	10
Limitation.....	11
Delimitation .....	12
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY .....	14
Literature Review .....	14
Methodology.....	23
CHAPTER 3 “COLD WAR” PERIOD .....	27
Overview.....	28
United States .....	31
Indonesian Government .....	40
Indonesian Military.....	42
Conclusion .....	45
CHAPTER 4 “IMET BAN” PERIOD .....	47
Overview.....	48
United States .....	51
Indonesian Government.....	56
Indonesian Military.....	61
Conclusion .....	63
CHAPTER 5 “IMET RESTORATION” PERIOD.....	68
Overview.....	69

United States .....	71
Indonesian Government .....	76
Indonesian Military .....	79
Conclusion .....	82
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION.....	84
Overview .....	85
Thesis/Research Question .....	94
Recommendation .....	95
Area for Further Research.....	97
APPENDIX A Map of the Republic of Indonesia .....	98
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	99

## ACRONYMS

CT	Counter Terrorism
DISAM	Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management
DoD	Department of Defense
DoS	Department of State
E-IMET	Expanded-International Military Education and Training
FID	Foreign Internal Defense
FMF	Foreign Military Financing
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
IMET	International Military Education and Training
JCET	Joint Combined Exchange and Training
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SA	Security Assistance
SC	Security Cooperation



## ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. U.S.-Indonesia IMET programs during the “Cold War” Period (prior to 1992).....	27
Figure 2. U.S.-Indonesia IMET programs during the “IMET Ban” Period (1992-2005). ....	47
Figure 3. U.S.-Indonesia IMET programs during the “IMET Restoration” Period .....	68
Figure 4. U.S.-Indonesia Defense Relations (IMET) Timeline from 1976-2012 .....	84

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The success of Indonesia as a pluralistic and democratic state is essential to the peace and prosperity of this region. Indonesians profess many faiths and honor many traditions. And like Americans, you understand that diversity can be a source of strength. Your national motto, “Unity in diversity,” sounds a lot like our own—“Out of many, one.” Americans admire the way Indonesians maintain unity and balance modern ideas with ancient traditions and deep religious faith.

— George W. Bush, *Remarks by President Bush*

Indonesia is strategically significant for the United States. The U.S. National Security Strategy of May 2010 specifically mentions the country as one of U.S. interests.<sup>1</sup> There are several considerations, which contribute to its strategic importance, for the United States. First, its status as the third largest democracy makes it highly significant to the U.S.<sup>2</sup> Second, Indonesia is located between two continents, two oceans, and adjoins one of the world’s most strategic trade routes, the Malacca Strait. Most U.S. shipping traverses through this strait. Third, having the largest Muslim population in the world also means it is important that the United States foster positive relations with Indonesia. In the “War on Terror,” the U.S. is struggling to fight the terrorist networks which are mostly related with the radical Islamic movement. Therefore, the U.S. has worked collaboratively with Indonesia in combating terrorism which has become a common national threat for the two countries. The importance of Indonesia as one of the key

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<sup>1</sup>The White House, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: White House, May 2010), 44, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf) (accessed March 23, 2013).

<sup>2</sup>Kenneth Chern, “Calm Waters: Securing our Indonesian Stake in the Asian Century,” *Venture* no. 2 (2012): 14.

players in this region attracted the United States' engagement with the country, including in the area of defense cooperation.

Likewise, Indonesia also views the United States as one of its strategic partners. The U.S. has played an essential role in the development of Indonesia. In the past decades, the United States contributed to the Indonesian government's efforts in countering the growing sphere of influence of communism in Southeast Asia. The U.S. government showed its support for Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in December 1975 because of the fear of a communist regime occupying that territory.<sup>3</sup> Following the annexation of East Timor as the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia, the defense relations between the two countries flourished and developed in subsequent years. Mutual interest in combating communism at that time became a common foundation for the strong relations. In fact, during President Suharto's administration, many countries viewed Indonesia as one of the strong U.S. allies.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, Indonesia has also worked closely with the U.S. over the last few years. In 2008, Indonesia proposed a comprehensive partnership with the U.S.<sup>5</sup> The proposal received a positive response from the U.S. and was translated into a commitment between the two nations. Both President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and

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<sup>3</sup>Ann Marie Murphy, "US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2010): 366.

<sup>4</sup>Anthony L. Smith, "A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2003): 452.

<sup>5</sup>Marty M. Natalegawa, "Keynote Speech at the USINDO Gala Dinner" (The United States–Indonesia Society, March 14, 2010), <http://usindo.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Natalegawa.pdf> (accessed March 23, 2013).

President Barack Obama launched the comprehensive partnership in November 2010.<sup>6</sup> This highlights the need of the two countries to accommodate their common interest leverage their interactions in maintaining regional stability in Southeast Asia.

In the last decade, the advancement of China's military has challenged regional stability in the Asia Pacific area, primarily in Southeast Asia. Several incidents in the South China Sea between the rising "Dragon" and some Southeast Asia countries, especially the Philippines and Vietnam, have shown a negative trend that may lead to larger scale conflict.<sup>7</sup> In fact, these incidents also indicate China's desire to expand its sphere of influence into Southeast Asia's primary shipping routes. Many analysts predict that Chinese aggressive movements in the South China Sea may pose a future threat.<sup>8</sup> As a rising super power, China's increase in its military capability creates challenges that have security and economic implications for Asia.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Department of State, "United States-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership, Factsheet," July 24, 2011, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/07/169001.htm> (accessed March 23, 2013).

<sup>7</sup>The Philippines and Chinese as well as Vietnamese Navies are currently deployed in the South China Sea. Several incidents between China and those two ASEAN countries were recorded in the recent periods. In May 2011, three Chinese maritime patrol vessels were spotted in a clash with the Vietnamese Binh Minh 02 oil and gas survey ship. The clash occurred in area which is located only within 120 km (80 miles) off the south-central coast of Vietnam. This clash later led anti-China protest in Vietnam. In April 2012, in the Scarborough Shoal, two Chinese surveillance vessels were in a stand-off with the Philippines warship Gregorio del Pilar. The Scarborough Shoal is an area which claimed by both nations. In early July 2012, China operated its Jianghu-V type frigate of the PLA Navy, 560 Dongguan, at Hasa Hasa Shoal which is only 60 nmi west of Rizal. This area is extended within the Philippines' 200 nmi-EEZ.

<sup>8</sup>John B. Haseman, "Indonesia's Armed Forces: Difficult Challenges, New Future," *Southeast Asian Affairs* (1999): 129.

<sup>9</sup>Barry Desker, "New Security Dimensions in the Asia-Pacific," *Asia-Pacific Review* 15 (2008): 57.

In facing these challenges, the existing defense relations between Indonesia and the United States can play a more decisive role in the forthcoming years. Thus, expanding bilateral linkages with the U.S. will require a balancing strategy. In this case, defense cooperation and military interactions between the two countries will contribute in helping maintain stability in the region. Military interactions between both countries help promote interoperability between the two armed forces and also foster solid defense cooperation. Similarly, it also creates confidence and trust between the two countries.<sup>10</sup>

Defense cooperation is one of the tools of U.S. foreign policy. In managing defense cooperation, the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD), in cooperation with the Department of State (DoS), interacts with foreign defense establishments.<sup>11</sup> Security Cooperation (SC) and Security Assistance (SA) both help build defense relations with a partner country like Indonesia. Among the Security Assistance programs, the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program is one of the most effective methods used to execute U.S. foreign and national security policy.<sup>12</sup>

In general, the roles of IMET are to contribute to educating foreign military personnel, fostering greater respect and understanding, as well as enhancing the observation of human rights. The U.S. established the IMET program in 1976 after

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<sup>10</sup>Saroj Bishoyi, "Defence Diplomacy in US-India Strategic Relationship," *Journal of Defence Studies* (January 2011): 67.

<sup>11</sup>Department of Defense, Joint Publication (JP) 3-22, *Foreign Internal Defense* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, July 2010), x.

<sup>12</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, "History of Security Assistance and Security Cooperation," in *The Management of Security Cooperation* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, February 2012), A2-1.

officially separating it from the Military Assistance Program (MAP) through its establishment in section 541, Foreign Assistance Act (FAA).<sup>13</sup> The U.S. Department of Defense highlights four focus areas in conducting the IMET program. They are the role of military in democracy, justice system and human rights, defense resource management, and military professionalism.<sup>14</sup>

Additionally, DoD also lists several objectives in providing IMET funding. Those objectives are developing host country capability in managing its defense establishment, enhancing training self-sufficiency, providing skills to operate and maintain any U.S.-origin equipment, and facilitating a good communication with the host country, such as Indonesia.<sup>15</sup> Indonesia, like many other countries, has purchased U.S. military equipment which needs proper maintenance. Among other benefits, IMET supports Indonesian military in addressing these maintenance issues. Overall, IMET provides opportunities for both training and education of members of the Indonesian military.

It is obvious that IMET helps provide strategic benefits for the United States and Indonesia. Therefore, the IMET program with the Indonesian military is essential in driving the United States-Indonesia defense and military relations.<sup>16</sup> Many articles which

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<sup>13</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, “Introduction to Security Cooperation,” in *The Management of Security Cooperation* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, OH: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, February 2012), 1-4.

<sup>14</sup>U.S. Department of Defense, 5105.38-M, *Security Assistance Manual (SAMM)* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, 2012), Chapter 10.

<sup>15</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, “International Training,” in *The Management of Security Cooperation* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, February 2012), 14-2.

<sup>16</sup>John B. Haseman and Eduardo Lachica, *The U.S.-Indonesia Security Relationship: The Next Steps* (Washington, DC: The United States–Indonesia Society,

discuss the relationship between the United States and Indonesia highlight the IMET program. Both countries view IMET as an indicative measure of their defense and military ties. In fact, President Yudhoyono, who is the head of government in Indonesia, is also a distinguished graduate of the IMET program.

However, there was a period when the Indonesian military was forbidden from receiving IMET from the United States. The “Santa Cruz” massacre, which occurred in Indonesia’s province of East Timor in November 1991, caused the U.S. Congress to stop the program for Indonesia.<sup>17</sup> The ban issued by the Congress limited the interaction between the two militaries. Hence, the U.S. Department of Defense attempted to provide Expanded IMET (E-IMET) as an alternate program in order to maintain the ties between the U.S. and civilian members of the Indonesian defense ministry. Nevertheless, another incident happened in East Timor in 1999 in which the local militias killed three U.N. workers. This situation generated more Congressional anger which led to a full ban on the IMET program including E-IMET for Indonesia.<sup>18</sup> For over a decade, IMET for Indonesia was officially stopped by the U.S. Congress.

In most contexts, the U.S. which has the stronger armed forces positions itself as the donor of aid including equipment, training and education. The donor country selects

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2009), <http://usindo.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/HASEMAN-LACHICA-BOOK-Final.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2013), 44.

<sup>17</sup>Andre G. Rivier, “Balancing National Security and Human Rights in Security Cooperation: Indonesia Case Study,” *DISAM Journal* (October 2012), <http://www.disamjournal.org/articles/balancing-national-security-and-human-rights-in-security-cooperation-760> (accessed March 24, 2013).

<sup>18</sup>John Roberts, “Washington takes another step towards restoring U.S.- Indonesian Military Ties,” *World Socialist*, August 1, 2002, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2002/08/indo-a01.html> (accessed March 24, 2013).

recipient countries based upon their strategic importance, their use of that materiel and training, and other factors including human rights. This model is valid for the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations where Indonesia positions itself as a recipient country. Thus, when the U.S. Congress banned the IMET program for Indonesia, the country could not do anything to alter the situation. With the existence of the Leahy Amendment, full relations with the Indonesian military could only be resumed if either Congress changed its position, the Indonesian government satisfied Congress that it had made systemic changes and that those responsible for abuses were brought to justice, or other events occurred that changed U.S. priorities and interests.<sup>19</sup> Although Indonesia punished several responsible officers, the ban was maintained.

However, the situation changed when the World Trade Center (WTC) terrorist attack took place on September 11, 2001. The U.S. started to develop its new strategy of “War on Terror.”<sup>20</sup> The country started to see the importance of reengaging with Indonesia. As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is significant to the U.S. in fighting global terrorism. In fact, Indonesia had to deal with its own internal terrorism problem when several bombings killed a number of foreigners and Indonesians. This consideration led to the U.S decision to resume the IMET program for

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>The White House, *Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia*, November 20, 2006, <http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/EAP/WH/20061120-3.pdf> (accessed April, 30, 2013).



Indonesia in early 2005.<sup>21</sup> Since then, Indonesia has continued to take part in the program.

U.S.-Indonesia defense relations, primarily related to the IMET program, have experienced ups and downs which have limited both countries' ability to achieve a sustained relation. Although the country has been allowed to participate in the IMET program, there are still numerous constraints established for Indonesia. As a recipient country, Indonesia's participation is conditional.<sup>22</sup> This condition poses a limitation for the full recovery of the cooperation. Thus, the ongoing defense cooperation between the two countries may need some improvements and adjustment in order to reach the same level as was achieved before the ban in 1992.

Before the United States halted the IMET program and exercise its embargo on Indonesia's military in 1992, the defense relations between the two countries were very positive. Indonesia was even claimed as one of the U.S. allies and being "pro-Western."<sup>23</sup> Therefore, returning to the same level of cooperation which may be indicated by the IMET program will help both countries strengthen their strategic partnership, especially in the defense sector. However, the absence of a clear map of the influencing factors, actors, and processes that have contributed in the past to United States-Indonesia defense relations, primarily the ban and resumption on the IMET program for the Indonesian military, limits the process of achieving that condition.

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<sup>21</sup>Army Logistics University, "Indonesia," [http://www.almc.army.mil/ALU\\_INTERNAT/CountryNotes/PACOM/INDONESIA.pdf](http://www.almc.army.mil/ALU_INTERNAT/CountryNotes/PACOM/INDONESIA.pdf) (accessed March 24, 2013).

<sup>22</sup>Roberts, "Washington takes another step towards restoring U.S.-Indonesian Military Ties."

<sup>23</sup>Smith, "A Glass Half Full: Indonesia-U.S. Relations in the Age of Terror."

### Thesis Question

In addressing the problem, this thesis focuses on the primary research question which is: “How can the United States-Indonesia defense relations be strengthened?” To support this primary research question, the thesis also highlights several secondary questions. Those questions are: (1) “What are the factors and actors that have affected the U.S. International Military Education and Training program for Indonesia?” (2) “How have changes in the U.S., Indonesia, and the Indonesian military affected the IMET program for Indonesia?” (3) “How can the U.S. IMET program for Indonesian military grow in the future?” (4) “What are the current directions and obstacles for the U.S. IMET program for the Indonesian military?”

Both of the primary and subsidiary questions are designed to help examine the defense relations between the U.S. and Indonesia, the process of how the two countries manage their defense relations, and also the difficult period suffered by both countries, during the “lost decade” period, specifically in regards to the IMET program for the Indonesian military. In addition, the questions also analyze the reason why such a period occurred, and the process in addressing the existing difficulties during that period. The questions also help stimulate ideas and identify possible recommendations to mitigate the problems during the “lost decade” period when the Indonesian military suffered from the ban on IMET program set by the U.S. Additionally, the questions may also contribute to assist the strengthening of future defense relations between the two countries since the thesis itself examines and identifies the influencing factors that can help strengthen future United States-Indonesia defense relations, primarily through the IMET program.

## Definition and Terms

This thesis uses several common terms. Those terms defined as part of the thesis are described below.

1. Foreign Internal Defense (FID)-A participation by civilian and military agencies of a government in any of the action programs taken by another government or other designated organization, to free and protect its society from subversion, lawlessness, insurgency, terrorism, and other threats to their security.<sup>24</sup>
2. Security Cooperation (SC)-DoD interactions with foreign defense establishments to build defense relationships that promote specific U.S. security interests, develop allied and friendly military capabilities for self-defense and multinational operations, and provide U.S. forces with peacetime and contingency access to a host nation.<sup>25</sup>
3. Security Assistance (SA)-The provision of defense articles, military training, and other defense-related services by grant, loan, credit, or cash sales in furtherance of U.S. national policies and objectives.<sup>26</sup>
4. International Military Education and Training (IMET)-Part of the Department of States (DoS) military assistance budget process, contributes to internal and external security of a country by providing training to selected foreign militaries and related civilian personnel on a grant aid basis...serves as an

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<sup>24</sup>Department of Defense, JP 3-22, I-1.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., x

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., I-1.

influential foreign policy tool where the U.S. shapes doctrine, promotes self-sufficiency in maintaining and operating U.S. acquired defense equipment, encourages the value of rule of law, and occasionally has a marked effect on the policies of the recipient governments.<sup>27</sup>

5. Foreign Military Sales (FMS)-A non-appropriated program through which foreign governments can purchase defense articles, services, and training from the United States.<sup>28</sup>
6. Foreign Military Financing (FMF)-Falls inside the military assistance budget process of DOS...provides [U.S.] funding to purchase defense articles and services, design and construction services, and training through FMS or commercial channels.<sup>29</sup>

### Limitation

A limitation encountered in the writing of this thesis is the inaccessibility to primary source of U.S. government official documents which are related to IMET since the author is not a member of the U.S. military. Access to public data, in particular information for the IMET individual annual funding for the Indonesian military, is very limited. Thus, the research for this thesis uses secondary resources which are collected through open sources. Unfortunately public data in some cases combines U.S. funding for IMET and another much smaller U.S. program, emergency drawdown funding, without

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., I-12-13.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., I-11.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., I-12.

separating the two. This study uses that data as an acceptable accurate statement of U.S. IMET funds for Indonesia.

### Delimitation

The thesis acknowledges that there are other programs and activities including E-IMET, exercises and JCET programs provided by the U.S. Government to the Indonesian military. However, these other two programs were not provided consistently and their funding was not as substantial as the IMET program. Thus, this thesis only focuses on the analysis on the IMET program for the Indonesian military. Additionally, the thesis also highlights three different historical periods which are based on the ban and resumption milestones set by the U.S. government for Indonesia. These important milestones divide the analysis of IMET history for Indonesia. The first part covers the analysis of the United States-Indonesia defense and military relations during the Cold War period. The second part covers the examination in the “IMET ban” period. Meanwhile, the last part discusses the period of “IMET resumption”. In addition, the thesis also identifies four primary elements that have influenced the relations in regards to the IMET program based on past experiences. These four highlighted elements are mutual interests, internal politics, the role of military in supporting relations, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and lobby groups. Therefore, this thesis uses the four elements to examine the three historical periods. These three periods support the development of the answer to the thesis questions about how to maintain and strengthen U.S.-Indonesia defense relations.

The thesis is structured into six chapters. The first chapter covers the introductory part which includes the primary and secondary research questions, terms, and importance

of the subject. The second chapter examines the literature available that helps analyze the United States-Indonesia defense relations, in particular the IMET program. Additionally, this chapter also explains the methodology used for analyzing the U.S.-Indonesian military relations through the three periods. Subsequently, chapters three, four, and five highlight the analysis of the three different IMET historical periods which also develop several lessons learned from these experiences and how they may influence the future United States-Indonesia defense relations. Lastly, chapter six provides the conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

The success of IMET lies in the prestige and quality of U.S. training that motivate foreign countries to send their best and brightest military students to courses in the United States. The United States has the opportunity to expose friendly and allied nations' future leaders to the U.S. system and culture, thus generating mutual understanding and durable working relationships.<sup>1</sup>

— Jennifer Morrison Taw, *Thailand and the Philippines*

For ASEAN states that prefer a regional balance of power such as Indonesia...a regional security architecture that is outward-looking and promotes the observance of international norms and codes of conduct is preferable to one dominated by a single power. For these states, an active U.S. presence would sustain this vision of the region's future.<sup>2</sup>

— Barry Desker, *Asia-Pacific Review*

#### Literature Review

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the critical influencing factors from past experiences in the United States-Indonesia defense relations that can help strengthen future defense cooperation between the two countries, with focus on the IMET program. In analyzing the defense relations between the United States and Indonesia, this thesis highlights three different historical periods. They are identified as the “Cold War” (1950-1992), the “IMET Ban” (1992-2005), and the “IMET Resumption” period (2005-recent years).

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<sup>1</sup>Jennifer Morrison Taw, *Thailand and the Philippines: Case Studies in U.S. IMET Training and Its Role in Internal Defense and Development* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1994), 54.

<sup>2</sup>Desker, “New Security Dimensions in the Asia-Pacific.”

The thesis focuses on these three different historical periods since these times show the shift of the U.S. attitude towards the Indonesian military which was reflected through changes in the IMET program. The thesis highlights the U.S. ban on IMET program with Indonesia that started in 1992 which began a period of poor defense relations between the two countries. The thesis also discusses the resumption of the IMET program in 2005 which led to a rebuilding of past confidence building measures between the two countries. The year is critical since the United States officially resumed its full military ties with Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, this thesis examines several key events which have influenced the U.S.–Indonesia defense relations. Past U.S.–Indonesia relations during President Sukarno’s administration and President Suharto’s era, the dynamics of East Timor in the 1990s during the transitional period to President Habibie, the emergence of Counter Terrorism (CT) chapter during President Abdurrahman Wahid’s and President Megawati’s leadership, and the recent developments in the current President Yudhoyono’s administration, are identified as important events that played critical roles in shaping the U.S.–Indonesia defense relations, primarily through the management of IMET program.

In addition, in analyzing the defense relations between the United States and Indonesia, this thesis refers to several studies on the United States-Indonesia relations. Most of the studies conclude that the relations between the two countries are important in supporting the stability in the Southeast Asia region. As a key player in the region, the relations with Indonesia will help the United States facilitate its interests and play a

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<sup>3</sup>Roberts, “Washington takes another step towards restoring U.S.-Indonesian Military Ties.”



significant role in Southeast Asia. However, these studies only highlight general issues between the two countries. There has been no study which writes specifically about the defense relations between Indonesia and the United States, in particular the IMET program.

The Management of Security Cooperation Book also known as the “Green Book” is an excellent reference for understanding the IMET program. It has been issued by the Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM) as a basic guide to conduct security cooperation. The book explains both security assistance and security cooperation in its introductory part. Security assistance covers a number of programs such as Foreign Military Sales (FMS), Foreign Military Financing Program (FMFP), Foreign Military Construction Services, Drawdowns, Peacekeeping Operations, Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI), Economic Support Fund, Leases, International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement, Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs, Direct Commercial Sales, and also Excess Defense Articles as well as Third-Country Transfers, including Military Assistance Program, International Military Education and Training, and Expanded IMET.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, the security cooperation lists seven categories of its programs as security assistance which is administered by the DoD, international armaments cooperation, training and education, global train and equip, humanitarian assistance, and combined exercises, as well as military-to-military

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<sup>4</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, “Introduction to Security Cooperation,” 1-2-1-7.

contacts.<sup>5</sup> The “Green Book” explains that IMET is one of those security assistance programs which has been administered by DoD as security cooperation.

The “Green Book” elaborates on security cooperation legislation and policy, domestic and foreign actors and organizations in the security cooperation scheme, as well as various programs which are performed under security cooperation agenda.<sup>6</sup>

Additionally, the book touches upon human rights policy for security cooperation which refers to the Leahy Amendment.<sup>7</sup> In certifying participation in the IMET program, the Leahy Amendment plays an important role, especially for the Indonesian military. The book encompasses IMET program in addition to Foreign Military Sales and other related issues in its content. However, it only covers the IMET program in a general way.

Most of the IMET related information provided in this document is descriptive. The book highlights technical issues in the mechanism of IMET as part of the security cooperation implementation. It includes the objectives of the program.<sup>8</sup> It also discusses constraints in the program like the exclusion of foreign language and sniper training from IMET.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, the “Green Book” also identifies the types and categories of

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1-7.

<sup>6</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, “Green Book,” *The Management of Security Cooperation* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, February 2012), vii-xvi.

<sup>7</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, “Human Rights and Related Concepts,” in *The Management of Security Cooperation* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio: Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, February 2012), 16-9.

<sup>8</sup>Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management, “International Training,” 14-2.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 14-3.

training under IMET program.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the reference does not include any analysis on the IMET program. It excludes elaboration on any specific country case study. Therefore, it does not help understand the implication of the Leahy Amendment on the IMET program with the Indonesian military.

Hence, to better understand the Leahy Amendment issue, this thesis refers to Charles Comer's article entitled *Leahy in Indonesia: Damned if You Do (and Even if You Don't)*. It discusses about the Leahy Amendment and its implication on the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. He argues that the adoption of Leahy Amendment has disallowed Indonesian military personnel who have not engaged in human rights violation from taking part in the U.S.-funded training and education program.<sup>11</sup> Their membership with "tainted" units, like the Indonesian Army Special Forces' Kopassus, makes them ineligible under the Leahy Amendment.<sup>12</sup> Instead of benefitting the relations, it has created an image of the application of U.S. double standard towards Indonesia. This will make Indonesia remain suspicious of U.S. motives in the country and region.<sup>13</sup> Such condition may impede in restoring a full IMET for Indonesian military.

In line with Comer's article on Leahy Amendment, Naval War College's paper entitled *A Post-"Leahy Conditions" Theater Security Cooperation Plan for Indonesia* written by Gregory L. Grady also discusses the limitation set by the Leahy conditions in

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 14-16.

<sup>11</sup>Charles Ken Comer, "Leahy in Indonesia: Damned if You Do (and Even if You Don't Do)," *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 37 (2010): 68.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 63.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 68.

the U.S.-Indonesia military to military relations which is part of the defense relations between the two countries. He argues that the Leahy Conditions have prevented a full military to military engagement.<sup>14</sup> His proposal is to set better conditions by the lifting of the Leahy Conditions. Therefore, the U.S. has to prepare a more intensive interaction with the Indonesian military post-”Leahy Conditions.” As a growing democratic country, Indonesia needs U.S. support. Good defense relations will allow both countries to perform information operations and intelligence coordination team which can help share intelligence resources in dealing with security issue in the region like terrorism and piracy.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, for understanding the three key periods, the thesis refers to several references. First is John Haseman’s and Eduardo Lachica’s article entitled *Getting Indonesia Right: Managing a Security Partnership with a Nonallied Country*. This reference helps understand the importance of a good military relationship between the U.S. and Indonesia. This writing identifies the need to leverage U.S. engagement with Indonesian military since it may advance U.S. interest with non-allied countries.<sup>16</sup> It also discusses the shortsighted sanctions which have impacted the relations between the two countries.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Gregory L. Grady, *A Post-”Leahy Conditions,” Theater Security Cooperation Plan for Indonesia* (New Port, RI: Naval War College, 2007), 2.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>16</sup>John B. Haseman and Eduardo Lachica, “Getting Indonesia Right: Managing a Security Partnership with a Nonallied Country,” *JFQ* 54 (3rd Quarter 2009): 89.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 88.

Additionally, the article also reminds everyone of the possibility of Indonesia's paranoid attitudes toward the U.S. as one of the western powers, should the relationship not be properly managed since it has exercised a double standard approach in engaging with Indonesia.<sup>18</sup> The article briefly visualizes the ups and downs of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations which is depicted as a security partnership. Nevertheless, it does not touch upon the IMET program despite its focus on security partnership between the two countries. Since this article was written in 2009, it also does not cover the period after the comprehensive partnership established by the U.S. and Indonesia in 2010. In addition, the analysis in this article does not focus on the three time frames as addressed by this thesis.

In addition to the article described above, this thesis uses John Haseman's other writing co-written with Angel Rabasa entitled *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics, and Power*. This writing is a good reference to understand the development and challenges experienced by the Indonesian military in a growing democratic environment. It covers several key events which have affected the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations that assist in identifying important milestones in the period before 2002. The writing also discusses the efforts made by the U.S. military in reengaging with the Indonesian military through Joint Combined Exchange and Training (JCET) program from 1993-1998.<sup>19</sup> It also touches upon the limitation set by the Leahy Amendment in requiring Indonesia to address specific human rights concern before the

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 91.

<sup>19</sup>John B. Haseman and Angel Rabasa, *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics, and Power* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002), 114.

resumption of IMET program.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, this writing only covers the period until early 2002. Additionally, it does not provide a specific elaboration on the IMET program.

This thesis is supported by another John Haseman's article entitled *National Interests and Mil-to-Mil Relations with Indonesia*. This article describes the ups and downs of the military-to-military relations between the two countries. Mr. Haseman visualizes the relationship as an interaction which resembles a roller coaster ride.<sup>21</sup> His writing helps identify the shift of interests between the two countries. He covers the diverging priorities of the U.S. interest toward Indonesia. In this article he explains about the transition from Cold War policy to human rights based policy and to counterterrorism.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, similar to the previous reference, his writing only covers the period until 2002. In fact, he focuses on a broader analysis of the defense relations between the two countries.

In addition to Mr. Haseman's writings, a few other references support the exploration of the three highlighted key periods proposed in the thesis. Angel Rabasa's report co-written with Peter Chalk entitled *Indonesia's Transformation and the Stability of Southeast Asia* is used to analyze the interaction between the U.S. and Indonesian military in the period before 2001. Both writers work as political scientists at RAND Corporation and focus their research on Southeast Asia affairs. But, since their report was

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 115.

<sup>21</sup>John B. Haseman, "National Interests and Mil-to-Mil Relations with Indonesia," *JFQ* (Autumn 2002): 20.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

written in 2001 it only includes events prior to that year.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, Ann Marie Murphy's article, *U.S. Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner*, helps analyze the recent developments between the U.S. and Indonesia which include the military interaction. Ms. Murphy is an Assistant Professor at Seton Hall University who received the Presidential Friends of Indonesia Conference award from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. However, her article touches upon broad coverage on different administrations and issues in Indonesia.<sup>24</sup> She covers the interaction with Indonesia in general without exploring defense relations in more depth.

Lastly, this thesis also uses Dana Priest's chapter of *The Indonesian Handshake* in her book entitled *The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace with America's Military*. She touches upon Admiral Dennis Blair's effort in fighting against the Congress to sustain U.S. support towards Indonesian military in the late 1990s. When Congress threatened to return several Indonesian officers who were studying in the U.S. after the violence against political opposition occurred in Indonesia, Admiral Blair struggled to sustain their stay in the country. Eventually, supported by Pentagon and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Blair helped allocate the funding for those Indonesian officers for accomplishing their program in the U.S.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, Priest only covers a generic issue of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations in her writing. Most of her discussions highlight the dynamics after the East Timor "Santa Cruz" massacre in which

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<sup>23</sup>Angel Rabasa and Peter Chalk, *Indonesia's Transformation and the Stability of Southeast Asia* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), xi-xvi.

<sup>24</sup>Murphy, "US Rapprochement with Indonesia," 366.

<sup>25</sup>Dana Priest, *The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace with America's Military* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 229.

the Indonesian Army Special Forces was allegedly involved. Her writing only mentions a small portion of the IMET program.

Having observed all the existing references in regards with the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations, particularly the IMET program, it becomes apparent that there has been no formal study focusing on the three key periods of time in United States-Indonesia defense relations which are addressed in this thesis. Therefore, this thesis helps identify the defense relations between the United States and Indonesia by using those periods of time as case studies. The thesis identifies several important factors that have contributed in shaping past experience. Analysis in this thesis provides some good lessons learned for defense practitioners from both countries that can be used for formulating future cooperation. The thesis concludes that lessons learned from past experience are critical in strengthening future United States-Indonesia defense relations, in particular through the IMET program.

### Methodology

This thesis uses a combination of documentation review and historical periods to facilitate a comprehensive interpretation of the past experiences and current practices of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. The first step of this methodology is to analyze the concept of defense and military to military relations. This helps the reader understand the expected relations by the two countries. The number of Indonesian participants in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program is the key feature which indicates good defense relations between the U.S. and Indonesia. However, the process in managing this program relies on the role of other actors like the U.S. Congress.



Therefore, the second step of the methodology is to examine a number of actors and key events which have influenced the defense relations between the U.S. and Indonesia. In this examination, the thesis highlights three different historical periods which covers the Cold War era, “IMET Ban” period, and also the period of “IMET Resumption.” Those historical periods have been developed based on a number of critical events. However, the thesis identifies that the decision to stop the IMET program in 1992 and the resumption of the program in 2005 are the pivotal milestones in observing the U.S. – Indonesia defense relations. Hence, the thesis touches upon the analysis on the ban on IMET program in 1992, and the resumption of the program for Indonesian military in 2005. This thesis sets four key criteria in helping examine the three historical periods. The criteria used are the mutual interests, politics, role of military and also other actors like Non Governmental Organizations and lobby groups.

The analysis based on these criteria leads to the third step which is the identification of the overall problems in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations in regards with the IMET program. This thesis captures all the existing problems, primarily during the “IMET ban” period or also known as the “lost decade” period (1992-2005). It also analyzes the reasons for these problems. In addition, the thesis also observes the identified pattern in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations.

The last step of the methodology used is to draw a conclusion and identify several possible solutions in mitigating the problems. The thesis also offers a number of opportunities for strengthening the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations in particular through the IMET program based on the analysis of the three different historical periods and four key criteria developed in the earlier step. In supporting the data, the thesis’ author

collected several unclassified documents from various resources. These documents include numerous key defense cooperation projects and events between the United States and Indonesia, primarily those under International Military Education and Training program. Among them are also the statistics of the Indonesian military's participation in the IMET program as well as the annual IMET budget provided by the U.S. government for Indonesian military.

The methodology used in this thesis helps the reader understand the overall framework on how to approach the relationship between the U.S. and the Republic of Indonesia as well as the Indonesian military. Therefore, it is important to include key areas of interest in the methodology since they can differ over time. Both countries may end up with their mutual, complimentary or even conflicting interests in managing their defense relations. In addition, the inclusion of key stake holders in the methodology is also critical since it helps the reader comprehend the role of different actors in the process. For the U.S. side, the process is more complex since it includes not only the President and his executive branch as well the military which is mostly represented by the USPACOM, but also the Congress and other actors like NGOs and lobby groups.

The division of three key periods of time in the methodology is a critical part of the framework used for analysis. Identified important milestones which started and ended each period helps the reader to analyze the cause of such dynamics in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. Similarly, important events throughout the periods are also essential to observe in understanding the interaction between the two countries and militaries. Additionally, both points of view from the two sides, the U.S. and Indonesia, covered in

the methodology will assist the reader in comprehending the change of reaction and attitudes exhibited by each side in each historical period.

## CHAPTER 3

### “COLD WAR” PERIOD

After a decade of zigzags United States policy towards the world’s largest Moslem country appears to have settled down on a foundation of friendship... This nation now receives American military aid and has apparently ceased to shop around the Sino-Soviet bloc for weapons.<sup>1</sup>

— Arthur H. Sulzberger, *The United States*

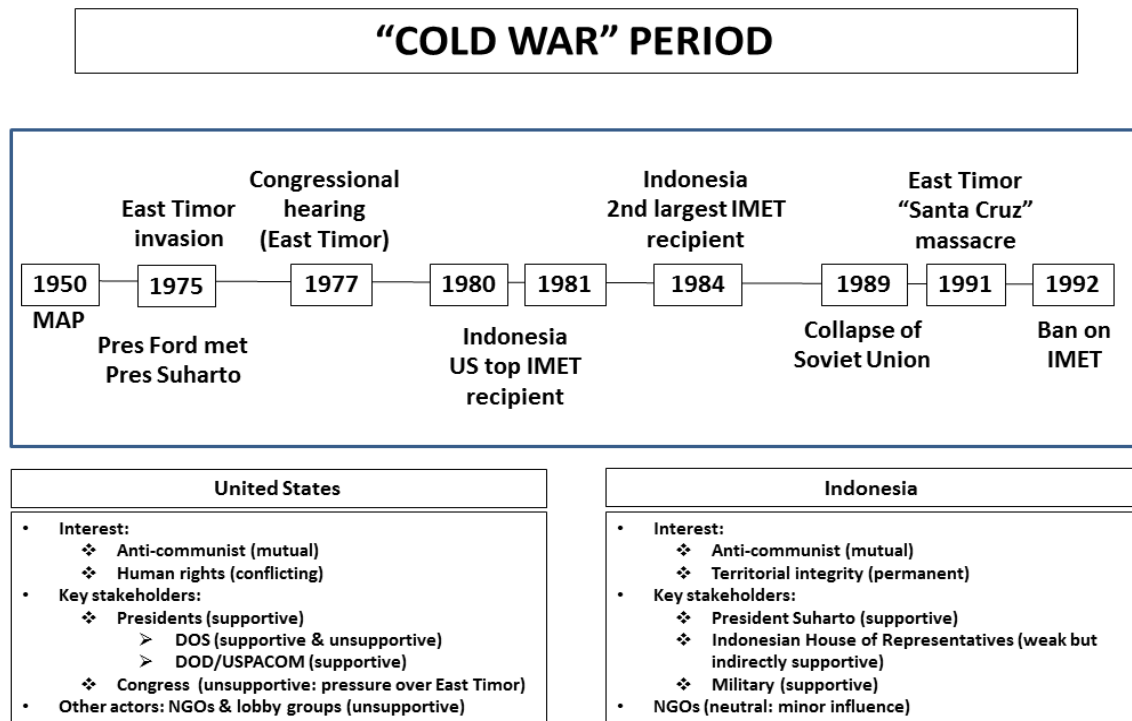


Figure 1. U.S.-Indonesia IMET programs during the “Cold War” Period (prior to 1992)

Source: Created by author from Bryan Evans III, “The Influence of the United States Army on the Development of the Indonesian Army” (Master’s Thesis, Cornell University, 1998); John B. Haseman, “Indonesia’s Armed Forces: Difficult Challenges, New Future,” *Southeast Asian Affairs* 1 (1999): 129-41.

<sup>1</sup>Rudolf Mrazek, *The United States and the Indonesian Military 1945-1965: A Study of an intervention*, vol. 2 (Prague, Czechoslovakia: Oriental Institute in Academia, 1978), 7.

## Overview

For Indonesia, the history of IMET originally started with the U.S. military assistance program (MAP) beginning in the late 1940s. The relationship with Indonesia at that time was demonstrated through a modest U.S. assistance effort to the national police force. Subsequently, in the early 1950s the U.S. military also helped build the Indonesian Air Force.<sup>2</sup> The assistance provided by the United States was consistently designed to limit the influence of communism in the country.

Therefore, when President Sukarno started to take the side of the Soviet Union and China, the United States shifted its support to the rebel groups known as PRRI-Permesta.<sup>3</sup> This was done in order to balance the shift taken by President Sukarno. During this period, the Central Intelligence of America (CIA) contributed by supplying weapons and equipment for the rebel groups. In fact, a number of U.S. personnel were also directly involved. Among them was Allen Pope, an American pilot who was shot down by the Indonesian Air Force. Pope was acknowledged as one of the identified CIA operatives. He was imprisoned for several years in Indonesia for playing a role in helping the rebels by bombing several targets in the country. Though he was captured and sentenced to death, he was later released by President Sukarno in 1962.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Bryan Evans III, *The Influence of the United States Army on the Development of the Indonesian Army (1952-1964)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, May 1998), 94.

<sup>3</sup>Richard Chauvel, "The Changing Dynamics of Regional Resistance in Indonesia," in *Indonesia Today; Challenges of History*, ed. Graynon Lloyd and Shannon Smith (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2001), 148.

<sup>4</sup>Audrey R. Kahin and George McT. Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1997), 182.

However, the connection made by the Indonesian officers to their American counterparts when attending U.S. military education institutions, like the Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC) at Fort Leavenworth, contributed in turning U.S. support back to the central government. Colonel Ahmad Yani who was a former student at CGSC asked Colonel Benson, the Defense Attaché in Jakarta, to help provide maps for their operations. Benson himself also struggled to convince the top U.S. military leadership that supporting the rebel groups would not support U.S. interests. His voice was heard by General Maxwell Taylor and support for the rebels ended.<sup>5</sup> From this experience, it shows that the relationships built while taking part in U.S. training and education program facilitated later interaction and communication between the Indonesian and American military officers like Colonel Ahmad Yani and Colonel Benson. Such good relationships are essential as a foundation in constructing greater ties between the two countries.

During President Sukarno's administration, the U.S. helped Indonesia in mediating the conflict over Papua with the Netherlands which led to the international recognition of the territory as being part of the Republic of Indonesia. Nevertheless, the U.S.- Indonesia defense relations were slightly damaged when President Sukarno was persuaded by a leftist group in the development of his foreign policy. The relations even deteriorated for a short period when Indonesia had a military confrontation with its

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<sup>5</sup>Evans, *The Influence of the United States Army on the Development of the Indonesian Army*, 28-29.

neighbor, Malaysia.<sup>6</sup> However, when President Suharto replaced President Sukarno in 1966, the defense relations between the two countries significantly changed. In fact, later on the U.S. gave Indonesia higher priorities for assistance due to its strategic importance. After the end of Sukarno's administration Indonesia strengthened its relationship with the United States. At that time, both countries were still confronting the common problem of communism which dominated the international arena during the Cold War period.

Fostered by a mutual interest in limiting the development of communism in the region the two countries leveraged and intensified their interactions. Just a few months before Indonesia launched its military operations in East Timor, President Suharto went to the U.S. and met with President Ford at Camp David on 5 July 1975.<sup>7</sup> At that meeting, President Ford expressed his support to Indonesia's military plan for East Timor. In fact, the U.S. unofficially supported Indonesia in conducting an invasion on East Timor to contain the influence of communism in the region.

The U.S. supplied the Indonesian military with a large amount of modern equipment which made their military the best standing forces in the Southeast Asia region. Prior to the invasion of East Timor, President Ford visited Indonesia.<sup>8</sup> He again

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<sup>6</sup>Department of State, "Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Indonesia," *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968*, vol 26, Indonesia, Malaysia-Singapore, Document 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 1964), 2.

<sup>7</sup>White House, *Memorandum of Conversation between President Ford and President Suharto*, Camp David, MD, 5 July 1975, Declassified E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.6.

<sup>8</sup>Department of State, "Telegram from the U.S. Embassy Jakarta to Secretary of State," *Memcon of Meeting between President Ford and President Suharto*, Jakarta, Indonesia, December 6, 1975, Declassified E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.6.

gave Indonesia a green light to invade East Timor.<sup>9</sup> During Suharto's administration, Indonesia was viewed as a "pro-Western" country. Additionally, the nation was also perceived as a U.S. "ally" in the region.<sup>10</sup>

The U.S.-Indonesia defense relations after the demise of communism in Europe changed significantly. After the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, the U.S. shifted its attitude towards the country.<sup>11</sup> Specifically, the U.S. started to question Indonesia's human rights records, primarily its practices in East Timor. In addition, more U.S. officials began to criticize the political repression of Suharto's military authoritarian regime. The collapse of the Soviet Union and threat of communism played a significant role in shifting U.S. priority of interest in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia.

The status of the IMET program for the Indonesian military during the Cold War period is examined in terms of numerous factors that contributed to the process. These factors are the mutual interest, politics, role of military and other actors like NGOs and lobby groups. These factors are viewed from three different sides, the United States, the Indonesian government, and the Indonesian military.

#### United States

The United States during the Cold War era fully supported Indonesia in countering the sphere of influence of communism in the Southeast Asia region. In fact,

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<sup>9</sup>Murphy, "US Rapprochement with Indonesia," 366.

<sup>10</sup>Smith, "A Glass Half Full," 452.

<sup>11</sup>Hugh R. McAslan, "Contemporary United States Foreign Policy Towards Indonesia" (Master's Thesis, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2003), 8.



the relations between the U.S. and Indonesia were very strong during President Suharto's administration. During this period, Indonesia relied on the United States as its major source of trade and investment, and in particular as a supporter in denying any communist expansion.<sup>12</sup> In support of Indonesia's anti-communist stand, the U.S strengthened the IMET program for the Indonesian military while also supplying them with military equipment. IMET was viewed by the U.S. as a critical component in engaging with the Indonesian military since it helped maintain their equipment and update their doctrine which they adopted from the U.S. During the Cold War period, it is clear that the two countries shared the same priority of interest in deterring communism influence except during President Sukarno's administration.

U.S. efforts in South Vietnam failed to prevent the North Vietnam communist government from reunifying the country. The Vietnam War which lasted for almost a decade was not able to directly prevent the spread of communism in the region. Having observed the situation in Vietnam, President Suharto shared his concern on the internal threat of communism in Indonesia with his U.S. counterpart. He discussed the issue when meeting President Ford at Camp David on 5 July 1975.<sup>13</sup> At that meeting, the U.S. expressed its agreement to support President Suharto and his plan in dealing with communist threat in the country and region.

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<sup>12</sup>Anthony Smith, "U.S.-Indonesia Relations: Searching for Cooperation in the War against Terrorism," *Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies* (2003): 2.

<sup>13</sup>White House, *Memorandum of Conversation between President Ford and President Suharto*.

During the Cold War period, both Indonesia and the United States opposed the spread of communism and sought to check it together.<sup>14</sup> The United States understood the Indonesian military's limited capabilities and continued to provide military assistance. This assistance not only included military equipment, but also training and education under IMET. From 1950 to 2011, over eight thousand Indonesian officers travelled to the United States to study military doctrine and tactics which later were used to develop Indonesia's own military doctrine and tactics.<sup>15</sup> Based on this area of strong interaction, it is obvious that the shared mutual interest had become the glue between the United States and Indonesia in managing their defense relations. In fact, IMET itself was perceived as a privilege for Indonesian officers since most of the graduates later became prominent leaders within the Indonesian military and civilian organizations.

However, when the Soviet Union collapsed, the U.S. interests in countering communism also disappeared. The fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 and end of the Cold War initiated a new chapter of U.S.-Indonesia defense relations as seen by decreases in IMET support. U.S. support of the New Order government led by President Suharto diminished. In fact, there was a shift in the stance of the U.S. on Indonesia with the U.S. becoming more critical of and even opposed to the Suharto administration.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Smith, "U.S.-Indonesia Relations, Searching for Cooperation in the War against Terrorism," 2.

<sup>15</sup>Defense Security Cooperation Agency, *Fiscal Year Series* (Washington, DC: Defense Security Cooperation Agency, September 30, 2011), 66-67.

<sup>16</sup>Damien Kingsbury, *Power Politics and the Indonesian Military* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), 158.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, human rights became a primary issue for the U.S. in its foreign relations and its domestic politics. As a result, the U.S. began to question the Indonesian government's way of handling East Timor. Complaints of human rights violations by the Indonesian military which were said to have occurred for years generated concern from the United States, particularly in the U.S. Congress. The situation worsened and reached its peak when members of Battalion 303 and Battalion 744 opened fire on demonstrators and killed 50 Timorese civilians in the "Santa Cruz" massacre in East Timor in November 1991.<sup>17</sup>

This massacre in East Timor generated grave concern among members of the U.S. Congress. This led to the ban on IMET programs for Indonesia, officially beginning in early 1992.<sup>18</sup> It also started to impact the overall defense relations between the two countries. The U.S. government changed its priority of interest from containing communism which was the focus during the Cold War era, to human rights issues that gained more priorities in the early Post-Cold War period. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government continued to follow a repressive approach in ensuring the cohesion of the nation without improving its human rights records. Indonesia exercised the same practices it used back in 1975. These conflicting priorities of interests with Indonesia started a new chapter of U.S. approach toward the country, in particular it's military as the means of political power used by President Suharto.

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<sup>17</sup>HASS, "Companion to East Timor: Santa Cruz and the Aftermath," Australia, UNSW, 2000, [http://hass.unsw.adfa.edu.au/timor\\_companion/santa\\_cruz\\_and\\_the\\_aftermath/santa\\_cruz.php](http://hass.unsw.adfa.edu.au/timor_companion/santa_cruz_and_the_aftermath/santa_cruz.php) (accessed April 26, 2013).

<sup>18</sup>Rivier, "Balancing National Security and Human Rights in Security Cooperation."

In 1992, in addition to the ban of IMET program, the U.S. government also imposed a military embargo on Indonesia. This embargo aggravated the situation and widened the gap between the two countries. The positive support by President Ford and later adopted by both Presidents Carter and Reagan changed under President George Bush. He was pressured by the U.S. Congress after the “Santa Cruz” incident to restrict military-to-military engagement with the Indonesian military. In fact, when President Clinton took office, he placed more pressure on the Indonesian government despite the strong recommendations by the Department of Defense to continue some engagement activities. He issued an instruction to ban arms and military equipment sales to Indonesia.<sup>19</sup>

Since the end of World War II, security assistance, including the IMET program, has been perceived as an important tool of foreign policy by American presidents. In fact, it had also become an effective means of U.S. global engagement in containing the Soviet Union.<sup>20</sup> After the fall of the Soviet Union and the decline of communism, the Bush and Clinton administrations both were constrained by the pressure from the U.S. Congress concerning Indonesia’s human rights policy. This condition made them adjust their approach in managing defense relations with Indonesia. Both presidents had very limited alternatives to maintain the ties between the U.S. and the Indonesian military.

After the Indonesian government conducted military operations in East Timor in 1975, there was actually a request for an investigation by the U.S. Congress. Since the

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<sup>19</sup>ICG, “Resuming U.S.-Indonesia Military Ties” (ICG Asia Briefing Paper, Jakarta, Indonesia/Brussels, Belgium, May 21, 2002), 1.

<sup>20</sup>Duncan L. Clarke, Daniel B. O’Connor, and Jason D. Ellis, *Send Guns and Money: Security Assistance and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 126.

Indonesian military used U.S. military equipment, members of U.S. Congress instructed the Government Accounting Office to investigate the issue.<sup>21</sup> In 1977, a Congressional hearing was organized to investigate the East Timor case.<sup>22</sup> However, during this period, the world was still dominated by the Cold War and the U.S. highlighted the same priority of interests with Indonesia in fighting communist expansion.

The U.S. Congress plays a critical role in approving the IMET program for a partner country like Indonesia. Any IMET program planned by the Department of State and Department of Defense must be approved by the Congress. This requires IMET to be budgeted by Congress. The role of the U.S. Congress in the process shows the importance of civilian control in supervising the implementation of IMET program.<sup>23</sup> This control also uses the concept of a fundamental democratic principle of the U.S. government. The role of the U.S. Congress in determining IMET funding enables it to restrict military support to Indonesia.

The ban of IMET program by the U.S. Congress in 1992 commenced a new “roller coaster” interaction in defense relations between the two countries.<sup>24</sup> The ban shocked the Indonesian government as well as the Indonesian military. At that time, the

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<sup>21</sup>Government Accountability Office, “Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia” (Washington, DC: GAO, February 1992), <http://www.gao.gov/products/NSIAD-92-132FS> (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>22</sup>HASS, “Companion to East Timor: Congressional Hearings,” Australia, UNSW, last updated February 10, 2000, [http://hass.unsw.adfa.edu.au/timor\\_companion/politics\\_of\\_starvation/congress.php](http://hass.unsw.adfa.edu.au/timor_companion/politics_of_starvation/congress.php) (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>23</sup>Clarke, O’Connor, and Ellis, *Send Guns and Money*, 107.

<sup>24</sup>Haseman, “National Interests and Mil-to-Mil Relations with Indonesia,” 20. Colonel John B. Haseman, USA (Ret) is a consultant on Southeast Asian Affairs and former military as well as defense attaché in Jakarta.

Indonesian government expected that the U.S. government would support them in defending themselves in the “Santa Cruz” case. They felt that the U.S. approved of their military approaches since annexing East Timor. Nevertheless, the situation changed. The U.S. took a different approach when the incident occurred.

This approach was reflected by the Congressional decision to stop the IMET program with Indonesia. As a security cooperation program, IMET is authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act which required Congressional approval.<sup>25</sup> In the U.S. system, Congress plays a critical role in determining any defense cooperation activity with partner countries. The effect of the Leahy Act sharply influenced the U.S. approach to the Indonesian military, despite the previous strong relationship between the two countries’ military leadership and personnel.

The U.S. Congress offered to lift the ban on IMET if the Indonesian government and military would implement several steps, primarily in correcting past human rights violations.<sup>26</sup> The Congress discounted what Indonesia had done for the U.S. in helping counter the development of communism in Southeast Asia, particularly in East Timor. Based on this issue, the two countries’ defense and military relations worsened and collapsed. The relations suffered for over a decade from 1992 and 2005 which diminished the capabilities of the Indonesian military in many areas.

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<sup>25</sup>Army Publishing Directorate, AR 12-15, *Joint Security Cooperation Education and Training* (Washington, DC: Army Publishing Directorate, 3 January 2011), [http://www.apd.army.mil/jw2/xmldemo/12\\_15/main.asp](http://www.apd.army.mil/jw2/xmldemo/12_15/main.asp) (accessed May, 5, 2013).

<sup>26</sup>Kenneth W. Martin and Craig M. Brandt, “Fiscal Year 2000 Security Assistance Legislation,” *DISAM Journal* (Winter 1999-2000): 14-15.

Unlike the Congress, the U.S. military showed a consistent approach towards the Indonesian military during the Cold War and Post-Cold War periods. Interaction between the two militaries was facilitated by the U.S. Pacific Command (USPACOM). Various joint exercises were organized by the USPACOM with the Indonesian military. Similarly, the USPACOM continued to support the participation of a large number of Indonesian officers in the IMET program until it was stopped with the implementation of the Leahy Amendment. The Leahy Amendment set a conditional basis for U.S. funded training for the Indonesian military.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to mutual interest, politics, and role of military, other actors like NGOs and lobby groups are also viewed as a critical factor in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. NGOs, primarily those which focused on human rights issues, tried to influence the U.S. Congress, specifically in highlighting allegations of Indonesian military abuse. In gaining access to the Congress, they were facilitated by lobby groups. Collaboration between NGOs and lobby groups played an active role in the Congressional process influencing the decision about security assistance and therefore the IMET program for Indonesia. In fact, some lobby groups would use any means they had in the process of influencing the U.S. Congress.<sup>28</sup>

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is one of the typical examples of influential lobby groups. Since 1954, it had been working on recommending American aid to Israel. AIPAC is different from the other lobby groups because it also

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>28</sup>Clarke, O'Connor, and Ellis, *Send Guns and Money*, 137.

includes the executive branch as its target of influence in addition to the U.S. Congress.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the American Hellenic Institute (AHI) Public Affairs Committee uses the same approach as AIPAC to represent Greek interests in the Congress. There are also other similar groups which have been used by countries like Philippines, Turkey and, El Salvador, to advance their interest in seeking security assistance, including IMET. However, they are not as powerful as Greece and Israel. Hence, they employed embassy staff, professional lobbying firms, and even NGOs in some cases to bring their issue to the Congress.<sup>30</sup>

Influence applied by NGOs and lobby groups indicates the impact of interest group on security assistance policy. They can achieve their objectives through their influence over members of either the legislative or the executive branches.<sup>31</sup> Surprisingly, there was not any influential pro-Indonesian NGO or lobby group in the U.S. at that time. This condition limited Indonesia's ability to neutralize and counter the human rights issue in East Timor brought by other NGOs and lobby groups to the Congress, like the Human Rights Watch. In fact, it allowed these groups to gain more Congressional support in restricting the Indonesian military from receiving U.S. aid through IMET.

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 138.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 139.

<sup>31</sup>Robert B. Mahoney, Jr. and David L. Wallace, "The Domestic Constituencies of the Security Assistance Program," in *U.S. Security Assistance; The Political Process*, ed. Ernest Graves and Steven A. Hildreth (Lexington, KY: Lexington Books, 1985), 146.



### Indonesian Government

During the Cold War era, the Indonesian government shared some of the same priority of interests with the U.S. government. These mutual interests helped foster U.S. assistance, including defense and military-to-military ties. After observing the expansion of communism in Vietnam which is located in the same Southeast Asia region, communism was considered the most dangerous threat to the Indonesian government. This concern brought President Suharto to raise the issue when meeting President Ford in mid-1975. The meeting later facilitated official U.S. approval of Indonesia's decision to conduct military operations in East Timor.<sup>32</sup>

The relations between the United States and Indonesia during President Suharto's administration were strong. Many spectators even perceived that Suharto's foreign policy during his term was a "pro-Western" one.<sup>33</sup> In fact, though Indonesia was a member of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), its close relationship with the United States resembled that of long time U.S. allies. His vision in maintaining Indonesia's defense relations with the United States was reasonable. As a growing country in the Southeast Asia region, Suharto wanted to ensure that Indonesia was secure from any external threat or challenge.

He observed a communist insurgency in South Vietnam had led to an internal major conflict in the country. Suharto attempted to avoid this kind of scenario occurring in Indonesia since he had a personal experience in dealing with the domestic communist threat earlier. He viewed communist as an enemy for the country during the Cold War

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<sup>32</sup>HASS, "Companion to East Timor: Congressional Hearings."

<sup>33</sup>Smith, "A Glass Half Full," 452.

era.<sup>34</sup> He stressed the importance of territorial integrity and unity of the country. A similar stance on communism shared by the United States and Indonesia was believed to be the reason binding the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations in the Cold War period.

Nevertheless, as depicted in the earlier section, the end of Cold War era changed the situation significantly. While Suharto and his administration still used the same priority of interest as used in 1975, the U.S. had changed its priority right after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The change of priority of U.S. interest was not expected and anticipated by the Indonesian government which led to the occurrence of human rights abuse in “Santa Cruz” incident in November 1991. The U.S. Government Accountability Office’s investigation found that the Indonesian military was involved in the killing of 50-100 civilians in that incident.<sup>35</sup> As a result, an IMET ban was imposed on the Indonesian military. The incident caused the defense relations between the Indonesia and the United States to become precarious.

While Suharto managed his administration’s connection with the U.S. partner, there was no substantial role played by the Indonesian House of Representatives that resembled the U.S. Congress. Suharto’s administration was perceived by the international community as a semi-coercive, authoritarian regime.<sup>36</sup> The powerful executive branch limited the influence of the House of Representatives on the government. In fact, the Indonesian House of Representatives always agreed with any decision made by the

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Government Accountability Office, “Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia.”

<sup>36</sup>Dan Harris and Marta Foresti, “Indonesia’s Story,” *Development Progress Series* (UK: ODI, 2010), 4.

executive branch. Therefore, there was no substantial contribution from the House of Representatives in managing and sustaining the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations during Suharto's era.

Similarly, other actors like lobby groups or NGOs also had no role in providing check and balance from the society to the Indonesian government. This condition contrasts to what occurs in the United States in which many lobby groups or NGOs contribute in persuading government policy. Any opposition performed by a small element of people would be considered by the Indonesian government as a subversive action which might end up in their imprisonment.<sup>37</sup> This limited any development of influential interest group, in particular NGOs, in the country. During Suharto's administration, there was no indication of influential NGOs shaping U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. However, underground movements which imitated the way NGOs work surprisingly started to grow in the mid-1990s, primarily at the end of Suharto's era.

### Indonesian Military

During Suharto's administration the Indonesian military was perceived as the most powerful political tool of the government. With its dual role known as "*dwi fungsi*" where it exercised both professional military and socio-political roles in the society, allowed the Indonesian military to dominate the government and day-to-day

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<sup>37</sup>Hikmahanto Juwana, "Special Report-Assessing Indonesia's Human Rights Practice in the Post-Suharto Era: 1998-2003," *Singapore Journal of International and Comparative Law* (2003): 649.

administration.<sup>38</sup> This condition was reasonable since Suharto used to serve in the Indonesian Armed Forces and reached the highest rank as an Army General. He used the Indonesian military as his extension in controlling the country and the nation. He really understood the importance of the military in securing Indonesia, both the population and territory.

Suharto had ruled for decades and built strong relationship with various U.S. presidents since he first went to office. He utilized opportunities provided by constructive U.S.-Indonesia defense relations to modernize and standardize the Indonesian military with the U.S. resources.<sup>39</sup> Significant amounts of military equipment were purchased from the United States. At that time, the U.S. M-16 was used as standard weapons for all units in the Indonesian military. Additionally, U.S. F-16s were employed as primary Indonesian Air Force assets for establishing air superiority over Indonesia's territory. In fact, many Indonesian military personnel were also sent to the United States to learn more about doctrine and tactics which contributed to the development of the Indonesian military during Suharto's administration. Development of Military Occupational Specialties (MOS), including land navigation, field manuals, and other Indonesian military references were based on the U.S. military doctrine, tactics, and system.

Though Suharto was not a graduate of any IMET program, he did not limit the participation of any Indonesian military personnel to participate in the IMET program.

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<sup>38</sup>Abigail A. Walton, "Indonesia after Suharto," *Foreign Policy In Focus* (November 1, 1998), [http://www.fpif.org/reports/indonesia\\_after\\_suharto](http://www.fpif.org/reports/indonesia_after_suharto) (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>39</sup>Paul F. Gardner, *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears: Fifty Years of US-Indonesia Relations* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 99.

He perceived that the IMET program was critical for helping maintain the professionalism of the Indonesian military. In fact, many of the officers, like Lieutenant General Agus Widjojo, who attended the IMET program during Suharto's administration had played a critical role in the national and military reform process.<sup>40</sup> Having so much U.S. equipment required the Indonesian military to maintain and adopt the similar doctrine and tactics. Thus, IMET was viewed as good indicator of the relations between the two countries. Indonesia was recorded as the largest IMET recipient in the world during the period of 1980-1981.

In 1984, Indonesia was still listed as the second largest IMET recipient. This showed a strong defense relations continuing between the United States and Indonesia at that time. Many military exercises were held in order to build the capacity of Indonesian military and to develop an understanding as well as friendship between the two militaries. Many U.S. trained officers were promoted to high level ranks within the organization. In addition, most of the Indonesian military doctrine resembled U.S. doctrine because of the knowledge Indonesian officers learned while attending U.S. military schools through IMET program.<sup>41</sup>

Surprisingly, though there had been a ban on IMET program starting in 1992 that affected military ties between Indonesia and the United States, however, the military-to-military ties between the two countries were not significantly impacted. USPACOM, which was in charge of maintaining the connection with the Indonesian military, even viewed the "Santa Cruz" incident as a consequence of the Indonesian military striving to

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<sup>40</sup>Haseman and Lachica, *The U.S.-Indonesia Security Relationship*, 14.

<sup>41</sup>Taw, *Thailand and the Philippines*, 54.

ensure its territorial integrity. Additionally, USPACOM Commanders, like Admiral Dennis Cutler Blair, later fought to sustain the IMET program for the Indonesian military despite all the criticism of the U.S. Congress.<sup>42</sup> Good and close relations between the Indonesian and the U.S. military indicated a positive trend of defense relations during the Cold War era in which IMET was perceived as a key indicator since it facilitated the interaction and the transfer of knowledge to the Indonesian military.

### Conclusion

Having examined the case study of the Cold War period, there are conclusions that can be drawn. The U.S.-Indonesia defense relations were in good shape during the period. A mutual interest of the two countries in countering the sphere of communism in the Southeast Asia region was shared between the United States and Indonesia. This allowed President Suharto to establish a strong personal relationship with various American presidents. Though the country had conducted military operations on East Timor in 1975, there was not any criticism from the U.S. administration afterwards. It is clear that U.S. national security interest during the Cold War was focused on the efforts to balance the influence of its rival, the communist power, the Soviet Union. Hence, in support of this policy, the U.S. Congress agreed with the approach used by the U.S. administration in engaging with Indonesia despite the East Timor invasion.

Since the East Timor invasion, the United States even had supported the development and modernization of the Indonesian military. Various military equipment

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<sup>42</sup>Dana L. Priest, "The Proconsuls: Patrolling the World. CINC's Don't Swim with State," *Washington Post*, September 30, 2000, reprinted in US Army Command and General Staff College, C200 *Strategic Environment Advance Sheets and Readings*, C203 Reading D (Fort Leavenworth, KS: USACGSC, August 2012), 11-13.

was provided by the U.S. government to Indonesia. In addition, military education and training through the IMET program were offered for a large number of Indonesian military personnel. Many of them became top officials in their organization which helped build personal relationships and develop an institutional collaborative effort with the U.S. military. Those personnel who participated in the IMET program also transferred their knowledge and updated the Indonesian military doctrine and systems so they resembled the U.S. doctrine.

Good political relations between the United States and Indonesia facilitated a similar constructive relationship between the top leaders, both Indonesian and U.S. presidents. Similarly, the U.S. Congress showed a positive support for the engagement. Meanwhile, Indonesian House of Representatives did not play any significant role in shaping the relations since the political system in the country was dominated by the executive branch, in this case President Suharto. Additionally, other actors, like NGOs and lobby groups, did not have any substantial influence in the process since Indonesian government limited any public criticism in the country. In the U.S., NGOs and lobby groups also did not contribute significantly in shaping the U.S. policy of its defense ties with Indonesia.

## CHAPTER 4

### “IMET BAN” PERIOD

The military-to-military relations pursued by the United States and Indonesia in recent years resemble a roller coaster ride. The ups and downs have reflected divergent priorities, which in turn reveal shifts in the strategic environment, international economic integration, and national politics. Issues have ranged from Cold War policy and human rights to counterterrorism, and from political isolationism and economic disaster to a refusal to understand American imperatives.<sup>43</sup>

— John B. Haseman, *JFQ*

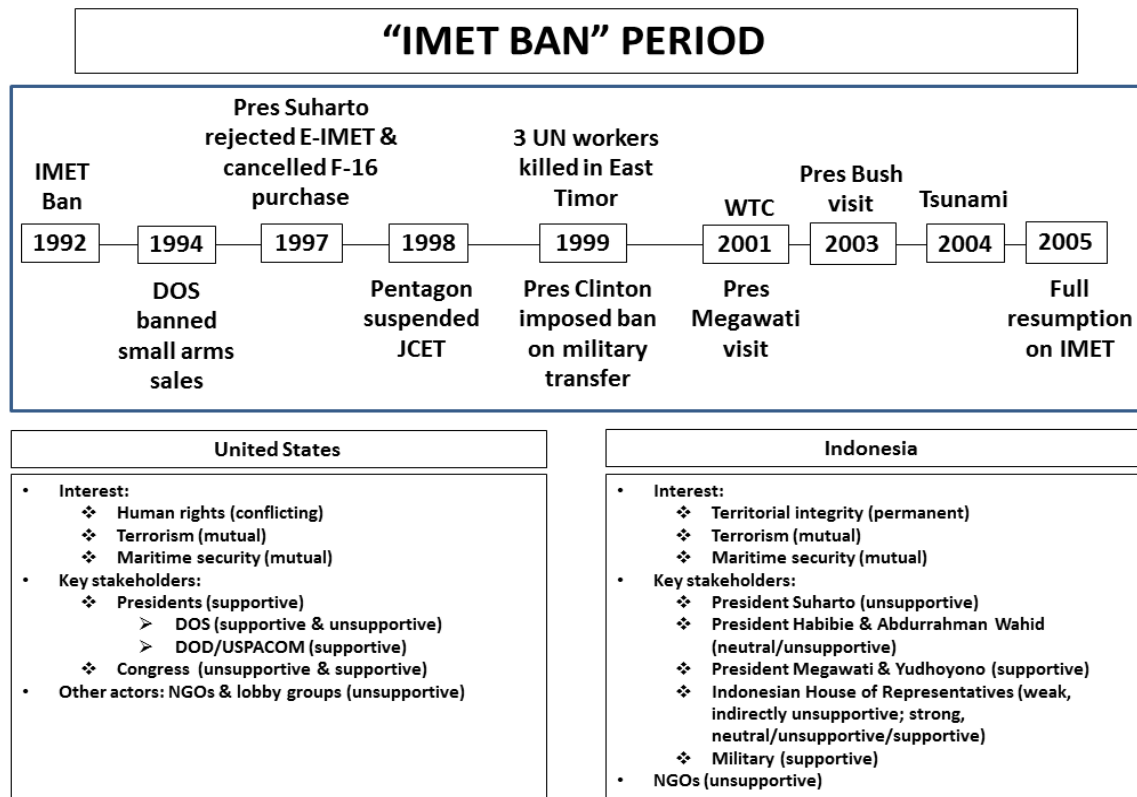


Figure 2. U.S.-Indonesia IMET programs during the “IMET Ban” Period (1992-2005)

*Source:* Created by author from John B. Haseman, “National Interests and Mil-to-Mil Relations with Indonesia,” *JFQ* (Autumn 2002): 20-26; John B. Haseman and Angel Rabasa, *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia: Challenges, Politics, and Power* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2002).

<sup>43</sup>Haseman, “National Interests and Mil-to-Mil Relations with Indonesia,” 20.



## Overview

Though the Congress banned the IMET and FMS programs for Indonesia, the U.S. government and military still attempted to continue their defense relationship. After 1993, USPACOM maintained some limited training with the Indonesian military through the Joint Combined Exchange and Training (JCET) program. This program focuses on mutual benefits for U.S. Special Operations forces in sharing training with foreign militaries, and it was not listed as a prohibited activity in the Leahy Amendment.<sup>44</sup> However, the JCET program was later suspended in 1998 after being politically criticized in the U.S. Congress and by some lobby groups. Since then, the Indonesian military has had very limited opportunities in U.S. training and education programs.

Having observed the strategic importance of Indonesia in the Southeast Asia region, USPACOM still made some efforts to continue some engagement with the Indonesian military. Several efforts were taken by the USPACOM Commander to help improve the defense relations between the two countries. Admiral Blair fought to maintain some cooperation activities with the Indonesian military.<sup>45</sup> He approached the Congress and top leadership at key government agencies, including both the Departments of State and Defense. Nevertheless, when the situation in East Timor got worse when three UN workers were killed by the militia in 1999, Blair was officially sent to deliver a strong message to the Indonesian military to take responsible action. His pressure was seen negatively by the Indonesian military which further reduced the defense connections between the two countries.

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<sup>44</sup>Haseman and Rabasa, *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia*, 114.

<sup>45</sup>Priest, "The Proconsuls," 11-13.

In contrast, during the so-called “lost decade” (1992-2005), the U.S. relationship with several Indonesia’s neighbors, Thailand and the Philippines, improved.<sup>46</sup> Though the Philippines military also adopted a similar repressive approach in dealing with anti-government movement, the U.S. did not apply the same limitation set by the Leahy Amendment. In the Philippines, it only limited the most senior commander instead the whole unit.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Thailand also experienced the same situation as the Philippines military had. Despite all the coups executed by the Thai military, the U.S. still allowed the Thai government to send their military personnel to study in the U.S. military institutions. This condition was possible because the two countries had established a mutual cooperation agreement which resembles an alliance treaty.<sup>48</sup>

After the World Trade Center attack in September 2001, Counter Terrorism (CT) became a critical operation globally. The U.S. led the global campaign in combating terrorism. Since Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, the U.S. started to change its stance on Indonesia.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, Indonesia signaled a positive response. Within a few days after the 9/11, President Megawati visited the U.S. During the visit, both presidents expressed their agreement to build their partnership in

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<sup>46</sup>Haseman and Rabasa, *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia*, 118.

<sup>47</sup>Natalie Sambhi, “Australia’s Options on Kopassus and Human Rights,” *Security Scholar* (January 11, 2011), <http://securityscholar.wordpress.com/2011/01/11/australias-options-on-kopassus-and-human-rights/> (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>48</sup>The Institute of Land Warfare, “The U.S. Army in the Pacific: Assuring Security and Stability,” *An AUSA Torchbearer National Security Report* (April 2013): 17.

<sup>49</sup>Mark Beeson, Alex J. Bellamy, and Bryn Hughes, “Taming the Tigers? Reforming the Security Sector in Southeast Asia,” *The Pacific Review* (December 2006): 464.

combating terrorism and strengthen their military-to-military relations.<sup>50</sup> Despite the initiative shown by the two presidents, the official defense and military-to-military relations between the U.S. and Indonesia were still limited by the ban on IMET program set by the U.S. Congress. Yet, the need to reengage with Indonesia in dealing with the global terrorism had started to stimulate more discussions in the U.S. side.

In his visit to Indonesia in 2003, President Bush discussed with President Megawati some critical issues about the cooperation in the war on terror.<sup>51</sup> They agreed on the importance of military reform in supporting Indonesia's transition to a stable and mature democracy as well as the normalization of the military ties because they were in the best interests of both countries. President Megawati welcomed U.S. support to help foster civil-military relations in the form of IMET and Regional Defense Counter Terrorism Fellowships. The two top leaders also showed their agreement on the importance of observing human rights.<sup>52</sup> However, the partnership between the two countries was still limited. Though Indonesia had fulfilled the demand requested by the U.S. Congress in order to reopen the IMET program, Congress still did not lift the ban.

In late 2004, when Indonesia suffered from the tsunami in Aceh, the U.S. government offered its help. Having observed that the situation needed to be tackled collaboratively, President Yudhoyono accepted the presence of U.S. military as part of

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<sup>50</sup>The White House, *U.S. and Indonesia Joint Statement: Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Indonesia*, October 22, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/release/2003/10/20031022-1.html> (accessed October 20, 2012).

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

the joint disaster relief operations along with other forces from the region and other countries. The operations were acknowledged as the largest military operations since World War II. Following the engagement of the U.S. military forces with the Indonesian military in providing the humanitarian assistance during the post Tsunami period, the Indonesian government attempted to reengage with the U.S.<sup>53</sup>

When President Yudhoyono came to office, the situation started to change. As a graduate of U.S. military and civilian educational institutions, he made some new approaches. He tried to reconstruct the defense relations between the two countries. Eventually in 2005, the U.S. government officially resumed the IMET program which is viewed as a key parameter for the U.S.—Indonesia defense relations.

#### United States

After the implementation of the U.S. Congressional ban on IMET, through the Leahy Amendment for the Indonesian military, a number of restrictions were consequently adopted by the Department of State towards the Indonesian government. In 1993, the Department of State blocked the transfer of F-5 aircraft for the Indonesian Air Force.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, it also restricted small arms and riot control equipment sales for the Indonesian military in 1994.<sup>55</sup> The stance taken by the Department of State represented the implementation of the Leahy Amendment enacted by the U.S. Congress.

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<sup>53</sup>Bruce Vaughn, *Indonesia: Domestic Politics, Strategic Dynamics, and American Interests* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2011), 5.

<sup>54</sup>East Timor Action Network, “U.S. Policy Towards East Timor,” May 2000, <http://etan.org/timor/uspolicy.htm> (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>55</sup>East Timor Action Network, “U.S. Senate Legislation Passed-Continues Restrictions on Arms to Indonesia East Timor Action Network Praises Ban on Use of

However, there was a shift of the U.S. government's approach in 1996. When Pakistan was identified developing its nuclear weapon capability, the U.S. cancelled its F-16 sales to that country. Therefore, the U.S. government seeking an alternate buyer for the F-16s offered them to Indonesia. In the same year, the U.S. government reaffirmed its plan to sell the F-16s to Indonesia.<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, a year after, President Suharto cancelled the purchase while simultaneously he also rejected the E-IMET program offered by the U.S. government. President Suharto felt that the U.S. Congress pressure on Indonesia's human rights violations had humiliated him and the country.<sup>57</sup>

The decision made by President Suharto in 1997 aggravated the defense relations between the U.S. and Indonesia. In the following year, the U.S. government suspended its JCET program with the Indonesian Special Forces.<sup>58</sup> Congressional pressure limited the U.S. military program for the Indonesian military which led to the cancellation. JCETs were organized by the U.S. military without officially notifying the Congress. Thus, when the U.S. Congress found out about the JCET program and with support and influence from the lobby groups, the Congress forced the U.S. military to end the

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U.S. Weapons in East Timor," <http://etan.org/news/news1/senate.htm> (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>56</sup>Art Pine, "U.S. Reaffirms Plan to Sell 9 F-16 Jets to Indonesia," *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1996, [http://article.latimes.com/1996-10-18/news/mn-55095\\_1\\_indonesia-s-human-rights-violations](http://article.latimes.com/1996-10-18/news/mn-55095_1_indonesia-s-human-rights-violations) (accessed January 10, 2013).

<sup>57</sup>John McBeth, "Suharto Rejects F-16s, Criticizes Congress," FEER, East Timor Action Network, June 19, 1997, <http://etan.org/legislation/archive/suhltr.htm> (accessed January 10, 2013).

<sup>58</sup>William C. Story, Jr., *Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) and Human Rights: Background and Issues for Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 1999), CRS-13.

program.<sup>59</sup> In 1999, when three UN workers were killed by pro-Indonesia militias which were supported by the Indonesian military, the Congress even put more pressure on the Clinton administration. As a result, President Clinton imposed a ban on military transfers to Indonesia in the same year.<sup>60</sup>

Nonetheless, when the World Trade Center (WTC) and Pentagon attacks occurred in September 2001, the U.S. government started to reconsider its stance on Indonesia. Indonesia was viewed as a potential partner in combating terrorism. Based on the investigation, the perpetrators of the terrorist attack in 2001 were related with Al-Qaeda.<sup>61</sup> This terrorist organization is known to have connections with other radical Islam groups for recruitment. Therefore, to deal with the threats posed by Al-Qaeda, the U.S. needed to cooperate with a country like Indonesia which is mostly dominated by Islamic people. In fact, cooperation with Indonesia also helped the U.S. to fight terrorism in Southeast Asia since the terrorist network in the region is interconnected.<sup>62</sup>

Just a week after WTC tragedy, President Megawati went to the U.S., becoming the first president from a Muslim dominated country to visit and express condolences for the U.S. over the terrorist attacks.<sup>63</sup> This visit indicated a positive signal for further cooperation between the two countries. However, the restrictions set by the IMET ban on

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>ICG, "Resuming U.S.-Indonesia Military Ties," 1.

<sup>61</sup>Martin Kelly, "Terrorist Attack: World Trade Center on September 11," About.com, 2001, [http://americanhistory.about.com/od/terroris1/p/wtc\\_September11.htm](http://americanhistory.about.com/od/terroris1/p/wtc_September11.htm) (accessed February 25, 2013).

<sup>62</sup>Vaughn, *Indonesia*, 4.

<sup>63</sup>Breckon, *U.S.-Southeast Asia Relations*, 54.

the Indonesian military posed limitations in renewing U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. Therefore, in her visit, President Megawati discussed the possibility of resuming the IMET program to support Indonesian military modernization and professionalism with President Bush. In a joint statement, both presidents expressed the strategic importance of cooperating to fight their common enemy, terrorism.<sup>64</sup> Military engagement between the two countries was identified as key importance in the joint efforts in combating terrorism.

Following the official visit, the U.S. government began to address the issue of resuming IMET program for the Indonesian military. An attempt to solve the issue, the U.S. started to provide a special program known as Counter Terrorism Fellowship Program (CTFP) for Indonesian military personnel in 2002.<sup>65</sup> A number of education and training programs which could not be accessed earlier by the Indonesian military were allowed through CTFP. However, most of the offered programs were related to Counter Terrorism issue.

The shift of national interest to combating terrorism after the WTC tragedy encouraged the U.S. government to readjust its policy towards Indonesia. The Bush administration tried to propose the resumption of IMET program for Indonesian military. In fact, the administration also attempted to waive the restriction against allowing the U.S. military to reengage with the Indonesian military through IMET as well as FMS and

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<sup>64</sup>The White House, "Joint Bush-Megawati Statement," Embassy Jakarta, Indonesia, September 19, 2001, <http://www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/2001/09/23/0048.html> (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>65</sup>Department of State, "Summary of Counterterrorism Proposals for Jakarta," August 2, 2002, <http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2002/12411.htm> (accessed February 25, 2013).

FMF.<sup>66</sup> In 2003, President Bush visited Indonesia and met with President Megawati. They shared a mutual understanding of the importance of advancing the relations between the two countries, in particular in dealing with terrorism. A year before, terrorists launched a suicide bombing in Bali which killed over 200 locals and foreigners including Americans.<sup>67</sup> This indicated that terrorists also targeted Indonesia even though it was a Muslim population dominated country.

The golden opportunity came when the tsunami struck in late 2004. Indonesia suffered over 250,000 casualties because of this enormous natural disaster which hit Aceh and Nias, the north western tip of Indonesia's territory. The U.S. government expressed its willingness to provide its Navy's resources to help the Indonesian military perform its disaster relief operations which attracted Indonesia's attention.<sup>68</sup> Based on the grave situation and its limited sea and airlift capabilities, the Indonesian government accepted the offer along with the presence of multinational disaster relief mission. U.S. engagement in the Aceh Tsunami relief operations was viewed as a turning point in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations since the two countries highlighted the need for further cooperation after the disaster. At that time, the U.S. was given access to operate within a part of the Indonesia's territory never before experienced. The access facilitated the assistance of U.S. military in locating and rescuing the victims of the tsunami.

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<sup>66</sup>Vaughn, *Indonesia*, 4.

<sup>67</sup>Hillary Whiteman, "Anger over Bali bomb site, 10 years on," *CNN*, October 12, 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/10/11/world/asia/bali-bombings-ten-years-on> (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>68</sup>Joseph S. Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), 21-22.



After a few years of negotiations between the Bush administration and Congress, the U.S. decided to resume the IMET program for the Indonesian military. In 2005 Secretary of the State, Condoleeza Rice, officially announced the resumption.<sup>69</sup> This event began a new chapter of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations which had been substantially degraded because of the limitation set by the congressional ban. The resumption was followed by attendance of Indonesian military personnel in various professional military education like the U.S. Army Ranger and Airborne courses. Many Indonesian top military leaders such as General Endriartono Sutarto attended the two courses in the past. The resumption improved the interaction between the U.S. and Indonesian military through the courses organized by the U.S. military.

#### Indonesian Government

The Indonesian government relied on the U.S. in helping build up its military capability during the “Cold War” period. The internal threat of communism encouraged the country to work together with the U.S. during this period. The U.S. was also concerned about the influence of communism in the country, especially after its failure in containing communism in Vietnam.<sup>70</sup> Thus, this mutual priority of interest to prevent the spread of communism helped Indonesia align with the U.S. during the “Cold War” period. Nevertheless, the case was different when the Berlin Wall collapsed and the Soviet Union dissolved. The U.S. shifted its priority of interest and focused more on

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<sup>69</sup>Jakarta Post, “IMET resumption seen as a recognition of TNI reform,” March 1, 2005, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2005/03/01/imet-resumption-seen-recognition-tni-reform.html> (accessed April 5, 2013).

<sup>70</sup>Vaughn, *Indonesia*, 4.

human rights which encouraged them to view Indonesia differently and its policy towards them.

In contrast, the Indonesian government, relied on its priority to maintain the unity of the country, abandoned the human rights concerned by the U.S. government. Having experienced a fruitful relationship with the U.S. in the previous period made the country confident enough to use the same approach as it exercised earlier. The “Santa Cruz” massacre which involved two Army battalions and killed around 50 civilians shocked the world, including the U.S. Congress.<sup>71</sup> Encouraged by human rights groups, the Congress imposed a ban on providing assistance to Indonesia, in particular the IMET program for Indonesia which led to the beginning of the “IMET Ban” period.

Throughout this period, Indonesia made some efforts to negotiate with the U.S. administration. In fact, despite the ban on IMET and some military equipment sales, the Indonesian government decided to open a commercial dockyard for maintenance of the U.S. ships in 1995.<sup>72</sup> This decision was viewed as a key stance taken by the Indonesian government. The need to maintain its engagement with the U.S was believed to be one of the reasons for the decision. In fact, in that year, neighboring countries like Malaysia and Singapore had also offered their facilities to be used by the U.S. military. Positively, this decision partially led the U.S. to shift the sales of F-16s from Pakistan to Indonesia in the following year.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>HASS, “Companion to East Timor: Santa Cruz and the Aftermath.”

<sup>72</sup>Michael Richardson, “Indonesia opens commercial door to US,” *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter* (October-November 1992): 35.

<sup>73</sup>Pine, “U.S. Reaffirms Plan to Sell 9 F-16 Jets to Indonesia.”

However, Congressional pressure affected the decision making process in the Indonesian government. President Suharto was upset with the ban on IMET placed on his country and administration. The U.S. used a different stance in dealing with the same human rights violations in Philippines, a neighbor of Indonesia. Suharto felt that all the pressures had humiliated Indonesia. Although the Indonesian government initially agreed to purchase F-16s from the U.S., he later cancelled it.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, he also rejected the E-IMET program which was offered by the U.S. government as an alternate of the IMET program.

Suharto's reaction complicated the defense relations between the countries. Trapped in a difficult situation during the late 1990s financial crisis, Suharto was forced to step down.<sup>75</sup> He was replaced by his Vice President, B.J. Habibie. Surprisingly, Habibie took a different action in dealing with East Timor. He offered a referendum which later ignited a clash between the pro-Indonesia and pro-independence factions in East Timor. The chaotic situation led to another incident in East Timor. Pro-Indonesia militias which were allegedly backed up by the Indonesian Special Forces stormed a UN office and killed three of the workers in 1999.<sup>76</sup>

This incident became an international event and resulted in a more intensive pressure on Indonesia. The U.S. government following the incident adopted an embargo

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<sup>74</sup>McBeth, "Suharto Rejects F-16s, Criticizes Congress."

<sup>75</sup>Marilyn Berger, "Suharto Dies at 86; Indonesian Dictator Brought Order and Bloodshed," *New York Times*, January 28, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/28/world/asia/28suharto.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>76</sup>PBS Newshour, "East Timor: Martial Law," September 7, 1999, [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/july-dec99/timor\\_update\\_9-7.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/asia/july-dec99/timor_update_9-7.html) (accessed May 5, 2013).

on military transfers to Indonesia.<sup>77</sup> This limited the ability of the country to sustain its military equipment that had been bought from the U.S. During Habibie's administration, the interaction between the two countries was still affected negatively by the East Timor issue. Human rights violations by the Indonesian government were viewed by the U.S. as limiting factor in resuming the IMET program for Indonesia.

After Habibie, President Abdurrahman Wahid came into office. Dealing with the limitation set by the U.S. in accessing and purchasing U.S. military equipment, he tried to seek alternate sources like Russia and China. The two countries sold some military equipment and weapons, including aircraft like the SU-27 and SU-30.<sup>78</sup> The situation during Wahid's administration did not really change since Indonesia perceived that the human rights issue was an internal issue that should not be intervened by other countries.

However, another tragic incident occurred in Indonesia in 2002. An ambush on Freeport workers convoy in Papua killed two Americans.<sup>79</sup> This created a significant impact on the restoration process of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. The U.S. in fact viewed that the Indonesian military did not cooperate in resolving the case.<sup>80</sup> Since Freeport is an area in which military forces provide security, therefore the Indonesian military also conducts operations in the area. There was an allegation that the Indonesian

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<sup>77</sup>ICG, "Resuming U.S.-Indonesia Military Ties."

<sup>78</sup>"Indonesia seeks more Sukhois," *Jane's Defence Weekly* (January 7, 2004), <https://janes.ihs.com.lumen.cgsccarl.com/CustomPages/Janes/DisplayPage.aspx?DocType=News&ItemId=+++1169429> (accessed February 23, 2013).

<sup>79</sup>Simon Elegant, "Murder at the Mine," *Time*, February 10, 2003, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,421081,00.html> (accessed February 23, 2013).

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*

military was involved in the ambush. Hence, the U.S. government needed to work with the Indonesian military for further investigation.

After negotiations, the Indonesian military demonstrated a willingness to help the U.S. investigation. Antonius Wamang was later tried and found guilty of leading the attack on the civilian convoy which killed the American civilians.<sup>81</sup> This cooperation facilitated the process of reengaging with the U.S. Nevertheless, those personnel who were related with human rights violations in East Timor and member of the Indonesian Special Forces, Kopassus, were banned from taking part in the program.<sup>82</sup>

The change of dynamics within the Indonesian government has affected the interaction with the U.S. In fact, different administrations used distinctive approaches which impacted in the process of gaining full resumption. The last two presidents, Megawati and Yudhoyono, contributed significantly in facilitating the process. Megawati used the counter-terrorism agenda to reengage with the U.S. Meanwhile, Yudhoyono, as pro-democratic leader and a U.S. graduate, used the tsunami as a starting point for reengagement.<sup>83</sup> He understood the importance of cooperating with the U.S. to advance the interest of the two nations. The resumption of IMET during his administration ended the “IMET Ban” period and began a new chapter of defense relations between the two countries.

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<sup>81</sup>ABC Radio Australia, “Papua murder trial result approved by wife of killed America,” November 9, 2006, <http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/radio/onairhighlights/papua-murder-trial-result-approved-by-wife-of-killed-america> (accessed March 20, 2013).

<sup>82</sup>Comer, “Leahy in Indonesia,” 68.

<sup>83</sup>Vaughn, *Indonesia*, 5.

However, during this “IMET Ban” period, similar with the previous period, there was no influential role played by the Indonesian House of Representatives which had gained more power after the reform process in the country. In viewing the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations, the House of Representatives took the same stance as adopted by the executive branch. In contrast, the human rights groups contributed in restricting the interaction between the two countries. These groups were able to meet U.S. senators which stood against the human rights violations in East Timor.<sup>84</sup> Their input gave more information to the U.S. Congress. In fact, it stimulated the process of imposing the ban on IMET for the Indonesian military.

#### Indonesian Military

In the same way with the Indonesian government, the Indonesian military demonstrated a similar approach in interacting with its American counterpart. Since the military was used as means by the political leadership, it operated under the administration’s policy. However, the Indonesian military attempted to maintain its connection with the U.S., especially many of the top leaders that had participated in the IMET program earlier. When the ban on IMET and several other arms sales was imposed, the Indonesian military still interacted with the U.S. through the JCET program.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the JCET program was ended in 1998. This limited the interaction of the Indonesian military with the U.S.

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<sup>84</sup>U.S. Congress, “Mission Statement of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission,” <http://tlhrc.house.gov/about.asp> (accessed April 28, 2013).

<sup>85</sup>Story, *Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) and Human Rights*, CRS-13.

An incident which occurred in 1999 in which the three UN workers killed put more restrictions on Indonesian military, in particular the Special Forces, known as Kopassus. The unit was accused of supporting the pro-Indonesia militias who did the killings.<sup>86</sup> Following the incident, Indonesian military had very little access to their American counterparts. In 2000, the USPACOM tried to invite some Indonesian representatives to the Cobra Gold exercise in Thailand. This annual exercise is organized by the U.S. and Thailand.<sup>87</sup> Several other countries have participated in this event.

During Wahid's administration, the Indonesian military shifted its orientation toward other countries like Russia for providing military equipment. Indonesia purchased SU-27s and SU-30s from Russia instead of F-16s from the U.S. which used to dominate the elite unit in the Indonesian Air Force. Many of the young top notch Indonesian Air Force officers were assigned to the Sukhoi squadron and sent to Russia for training. The decision was made because the Indonesian military personnel had limitation in taking part in the IMET program after the ban imposed by the U.S. Congress in 1992.

Following the WTC tragedy, the embargo set by European Union (EU) ended. This allowed the Indonesian military to access the EU market. Similarly, the Indonesian military also started to receive limited resumption of the IMET program through E-IMET. The U.S. government offered CTFP for the Indonesian military in 2002.<sup>88</sup> Thus,

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<sup>86</sup>East Timor and Indonesia Action Network, "New Kopassus Number 2 helped form militia in East Timor in 1999," <http://etanaction.blogspot.com/2010/06/new-kopassus-number-2-helped-form.html> (accessed April 25, 2013).

<sup>87</sup>Kasey Peacock, "Cobra Gold begins in Thailand," *Army* (February 8, 2012), <http://www.army.mil/article/73324/> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>88</sup>Department of State, "Summary of Counterterrorism Proposals for Jakarta."

there were an increasing number of Indonesian military personnel studying in the U.S. as part of the professional military education program.

In 2001 there were no Indonesian personnel attending any IMET program. A year after, the number increased to 405 personnel in 2002.<sup>89</sup> Yet, the incident in Freeport affected the number of personnel in which it was reduced to 276 based on the reduction of the IMET budget for the Indonesian military. In 2003, after improved cooperation by the Indonesian military in the Freeport investigation, the IMET budget allocation was leveled up. This facilitated the participation of 596 Indonesian military personnel in the IMET program. Before the resumption, the number increased to 721 personnel and it was even increased to 933 after the full resumption in 2005.

### Conclusion

Having observed from the U.S. side, there are several important points to acknowledge. First, there was a shift of priority of interest from containing communism in the beginning of the “IMET Ban” period to cooperating for counter-terrorism in the end of the “IMET Ban” period. This stance was taken by the U.S. government since it needed to secure its strategic interest in the region. Hence, partnership with Indonesia was viewed as key piece by the U.S. Despite all the dynamics that occurred in the early phase of this period, the U.S. attempted to approach the Indonesian government to help accommodate its Global War on Terror agenda after the WTC tragedy.

The Bush administration worked hard to negotiate with the Congress in allowing the resumption of the IMET program for Indonesia. Since IMET itself is perceived as an

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<sup>89</sup>Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “Fiscal Year Series,” 67.



important indicator of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations, the full resumption of the program contributed significantly accelerated the reengagement process between the two countries and militaries. The U.S. government officially announced the full resumption of IMET in February 2005. This event started a new chapter of cooperation between the U.S. and Indonesia. Dynamics between political actors, either the executive leader and his cabinet or the legislative, has influenced the process of managing the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. The roles of those political actors are viewed as another important point for analysis.

Additionally, the role of the U.S. military in influencing the president and the U.S. Congress is also acknowledged as another essential factor in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. Admiral Blair, USPACOM commander, tried to back up and fight for the sustainability of a good defense relations between the two countries. The U.S. military also attempted to maintain its engagement with the Indonesian military through the JCET program. From 1993, the U.S. military used the program to help build the capability of the Indonesian military. Yet, the program had to be suspended in 1998 due to Congressional pressure.

In 2000, the U.S. military started to invite some Indonesian representatives to take part in a U.S.-organized joint exercise Cobra Gold in Thailand. In fact, after the 9/11, the U.S. military also recommended further cooperation with the Indonesian military. Having learned about the strategic importance of the country, the U.S. military represented by USPACOM sought a full resumption of the IMET program. The U.S. military also deployed its personnel and units to assist the tsunami disaster relief operations performed by the Indonesian military. Based on the limitations of the Indonesian military in sea and

airlift capability in the relief operations, the U.S. military saw firsthand the importance of reengaging with its Indonesian counterpart. The U.S. role in the “IMET Ban” period was quite influential. However, the Congressional pressure limited the ability of U.S. military to take the initiative in resuming the IMET program for Indonesia.

The last factor that can be included in the analysis is the influence of human rights and lobby groups. The role played by these groups was influential in driving the Congressional pressure during the “IMET Ban” period. When the pro-Indonesia militias killed the UN workers and also fought with the pro-independence groups which causing large number of casualties, these groups started to bring more input to the U.S. Congress. In fact, they were able to meet personally with key senator like Patrick Leahy who recommended a stringent condition for the resumption of the IMET program for the Indonesian military.

Meanwhile, on the Indonesian side, as discussed earlier, conflicting interest had limited the ability of the country to adjust its policy with the U.S. government’s concern on human rights issue. Territorial integrity and unity of the country which became the priority of the Indonesian administrations was used to legalize any human rights violations in East Timor and some part of the countries. Past experience in dealing with the invasion in East Timor in 1975 in which the country received full support from the U.S. government created a mindset that human rights issue would be overlooked by the U.S.

Therefore, the role of all the Indonesian presidents was really influential in this period. Various administrations adopted a slightly different policy. However, most of them perceived that the U.S. tried to intervene in Indonesia’s internal affairs. The last two

presidents were fortunate for having experienced 9/11 terrorists attacks which forced the shift of priority of interest towards Indonesia those of and conducting counter-terrorism operations together. The 9/11 terrorist attack is perceived as one of the turning points in the change of U.S. attitude. Additionally, the access given by Yudhoyono's administration to U.S. military's involvement in the Tsunami disaster relief operations was also viewed as another turning point in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. These two turning points helped restore the relations that led to a full resumption of the IMET program.

In contrast, the Indonesian House of Representatives did not play a significant role in influencing the Indonesian executive branch despite a larger role that they had than in the previous period. The House of Representatives was not also able to interact with the U.S. Congress and help negotiate the resumption of the IMET program for the Indonesian military. Meanwhile, the human rights NGOs and lobby groups in Indonesia showed a more substantial role in collaborating with other human rights groups. They worked together in bringing the human rights issue to attention of the U.S. Congress which later accommodated their concern and adopted the full ban on the program.

For the Indonesian military, in the beginning of the "IMET Ban" period, interaction with their U.S. counterparts was still maintained since many of the leaders had U.S. educational background. However, during the "IMET Ban" period, in particular after the killing of the UN workers in 1999, the Indonesian military suffered from the full restriction in engaging with the U.S. military. Throughout this period, there had been a significant decreasing amount of personnel taking part in the IMET program. Fortunately, the shift of priority of U.S. interest to combating terrorism had allowed the Indonesian

military to gain more access and seats in the program. The full resumption in 2005 helped the Indonesian military to maintain its U.S. military equipment and update its U.S. based doctrine

## CHAPTER 5

### “IMET RESTORATION” PERIOD

Kopassus has a long history of abuses and remains unrepentant, essentially unreformed, and unaccountable. I deeply regret that before starting down the road of reengagement, our country did not obtain and Kopassus did not accept the necessary reforms we have long sought. But a conditional toe in the water is wiser at this stage than diving in. The United States and Indonesia share important interests, and I have sought a way forward that is consistent with our interests and our values. I hope that will become possible.<sup>90</sup>

— Senator Patrick Leahy, *PR Newswire*

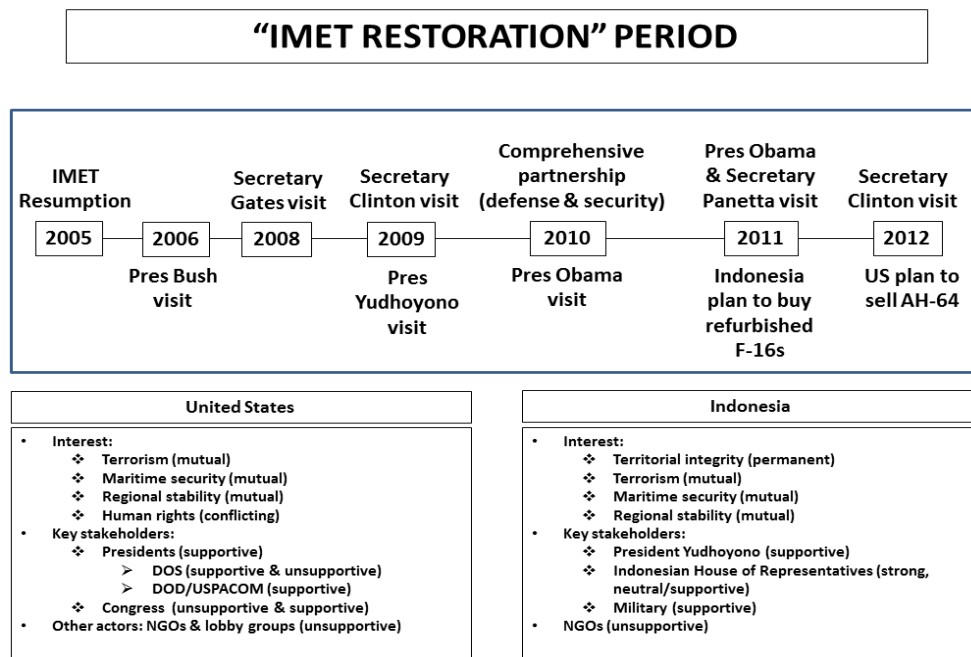


Figure 3. U.S.-Indonesia IMET programs during the “IMET Restoration” Period

*Source:* Created by author from John B. Haseman and Eduardo Lachica, “Getting Indonesia Right: Managing a Security Partnership with a Nonallied Country,” *JFQ* no. 54 (3rd quarter 2009): 87-91; John B. Haseman and Eduardo Lachica, “The U.S.-Indonesia Security Relationship: The Next Steps. USINDO,” January 2009, <http://usindo.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/HASEMAN-LACHICA-BOOK-Final.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2013).

<sup>90</sup>PR Newswire, “Patrick Leahy,” July 22, 2012, <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/leahy-reaction-to-the-obama-administrations-decision-to-resume-engagement-with-the-indonesian-special-forces-kopassus-99030879.html> (accessed September 27, 2012).

### Overview

In 2005, after 13 years of a prolonged pause in their defense cooperation, the relations between the two countries showed a positive recovery. The United States reopened its IMET program for Indonesian defense personnel. IMET is viewed as a vital component of the U.S. Defense diplomacy in the Southeast Asia, in particular Indonesia.<sup>91</sup> In addition, the United States also offered to provide some aircraft spare parts, which had been impacted by the exercise of U.S. embargo during the “lost decade”. Following the resumption of the IMET program for Indonesia, President George W. Bush visited Indonesia in November 2006. He discussed numerous strategic possibilities with President Yudhoyono, which also helped accelerate the recovery process for U.S.-Indonesia defense relations.

However, “aside from the effects of Leahy, the overall lifting of military sanctions in November 2005 did not instantly restore a normal military relationship; it merely set the stage for it.”<sup>92</sup> The Indonesian Special Forces are still not allowed to take part in any United States IMET program by the U.S. Congress based on the enactment of the Leahy Amendment. In fact, the Congress also limits the U.S. Counter Terrorism (CT) cooperation with the Indonesian military in which U.S. Special Operations Forces can only collaborate and exercise with the Indonesian National Police instead of its military counterpart. Moreover, joint airborne exercises, which are also part of the IMET program and used to be organized with the Indonesian paratroopers, have been rare in recent years.

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<sup>91</sup>Oleg Korovin, Jennifer Sim, and Joann Saw, *Defence Diplomacy in Southeast Asia. Conference Report* (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies Nanyang Technological University, 2010), 12.

<sup>92</sup>Comer, “Leahy in Indonesia,” 55.

In 2010, Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, officially announced that the U.S. government would also begin to incorporate Kopassus in the IMET program. Nonetheless, to date, the unit has still not received any approval from the U.S. Congress. There has been no legal document authorizing the inclusion of Kopassus in the IMET program.<sup>93</sup> The Congress still limits the involvement of Kopassus due to their human rights violations records in East Timor. Even though its new personnel were not involved in any operations in East Timor, they cannot take part in the IMET program. This limits the ability of Indonesian Special Forces to interact with their American counterparts.

In the subsequent years, several high official visits have been organized. These visits are intended to help implement the comprehensive partnership. In 2011, the Indonesian government expressed its plan to purchase U.S. refurbished F-16s.<sup>94</sup> Additionally, in 2012, the government also negotiated to buy several AH-64 helicopters known as Apache.<sup>95</sup> These helicopters are only sold to countries which are considered as allies or close partners. Therefore, the willingness to sell the helicopters indicates an increasing confidence by the U.S. towards Indonesia and a vastly improved level of defense relations between the two countries.

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<sup>93</sup>Santi Dharmawan, Interviewed by author, Fort Leavenworth, October 12, 2012. Santi Dharmawan is a former staff at the Office of Defense Cooperation at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta.

<sup>94</sup>Jon Grevatt, "Lockheed Martin looks to upgrade Indonesian F-16 radars, supply surveillance systems," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, November 8, 2012, <https://janes.ihs.com/lumen.cgsccarl.com/CustomPages/Janes/DisplayPage.aspx?DocType=News&ItemId=+++1529157> (accessed February 23, 2013).

<sup>95</sup>John McBeth, "Indonesian Military No Longer Pariah in US Eyes," *Singapore Straits Times*, November 6, 2012.

However, despite the good defense relations demonstrated by the two countries after the full resumption of IMET in 2005, there is still a possibility of the reemergence of “IMET Ban” scenario for the Indonesian military. If the U.S. shifts its priority of interest and conflicts with Indonesia’s interest, the same scenario will likely to occur again. Hence, both countries need to maintain a good defense relation and try to identify mutual and complimentary issues which may advance both national interests. Counter Terrorism, maritime security, piracy, and regional stability are some of the potential issues that may strengthen and intensify the interaction in the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations.<sup>96</sup>

#### United States

The announcement of the restoration of the IMET program for Indonesia in February 2005 started the “IMET Restoration” period. Following this restart, President Bush made a visit to Indonesia in 2006.<sup>97</sup> He met with President Yudhoyono and discussed several important issues at the Bogor Presidential Palace. His visit to Indonesia indicates the importance of Indonesia to his administration. In the visit, Presidents Bush and Yudhoyono expressed their commitment to defeat terrorism. Both of the presidents

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<sup>96</sup>“Joint Statement Indonesia-United States Security Dialogue III,” Washington, DC: Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, August 3, 2005, <http://www.embassyofindonesia.org/ina-usa/statement/jointstatementSDIIL.htm> (accessed March 7, 2013).

<sup>97</sup>David E. Sanger, “Bush Ends Trip at Careful Stop in Indonesia,” *New York Times*, November 21, 2006, [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/21/world/asia/21prexy.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/21/world/asia/21prexy.html?_r=0) (accessed February 27, 2013).



also agreed to maintain a sustainable bilateral military relation which can provide a mutual benefit for the two countries in supporting peace and stability.<sup>98</sup>

In the “IMET Resumption” period, the two countries continued the security dialogue which was firstly established in 2001 following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. In 2007, both U.S. and Indonesia organized their fifth security dialogue. In this event, the two countries agreed that participation of the Indonesian military personnel in the IMET program should be maintained.<sup>99</sup> A sustainable participation would help the country leverage its professionalism which supports the principles of a democratic country. Additionally, it will also facilitate the process in accommodating the interests for the two countries.

In 2008, the U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates made a trip to Jakarta.<sup>100</sup> He discussed the possibility of strengthening the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations with the Indonesian Defense Minister, Juwono Sudarsono. His trip was followed by that of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in 2009. Clinton’s trip to Indonesia was the first visit made by an official in the Obama administration. Her visit played a critical role in helping the two countries intensify their interaction.

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<sup>98</sup>The White House, “Joint Statement Between the United States and the Republic of Indonesia.”

<sup>99</sup>“U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Joint Statement Indonesia - United States Security Dialogue V,” Press Release, April 19, 2007, [http://jakarta.usembassy.gov/pr\\_04192007.html](http://jakarta.usembassy.gov/pr_04192007.html) (accessed April, 30, 2013).

<sup>100</sup>Fred W. Baker III, “Gates Pledges U.S. Support to Indonesia,” February 25, 2008, <http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=49061> (accessed March 5, 2013).

In 2010, President Barack Obama made a trip to Indonesia. He lived in Indonesia for a few years during his childhood. In fact, his late mother married an Indonesian man who later became his step father. The trip was scheduled to take place in March. Due to some domestic urgency, the trip was delayed until November.<sup>101</sup> During his trip to Indonesia, President Obama had an important meeting with President Yudhoyono. Both of them discussed the future of the relations of the two countries.

The two presidents concluded that the interaction between U.S. and Indonesia should be leveraged. Hence, both President Obama and President Yudhoyono announced the commitment to establish the U.S.-Indonesia Comprehensive Partnership. This partnership also covers defense and security cooperation.<sup>102</sup> By having the new partnership model, the U.S. expects to interact more with Indonesia, including with the Indonesian military. In fact, the partnership provides a legal basis for the Obama's administration to engage more with Indonesia.

In 2011, President Obama made another visit to Indonesia. This time he came to Indonesia to attend the East Asia Summit (EAS).<sup>103</sup> The U.S. has been invited to join the Summit in addition to other non-ASEAN countries like China, Korea, Japan, India,

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<sup>101</sup>Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Obama Pledges Expanded Ties with Muslim Nations," *New York Times*, November 9, 2010, [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/10/world/asia/10prexy.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/10/world/asia/10prexy.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0) (accessed May 5, 2013).

<sup>102</sup>The White House, "Joint Statement by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono of the Republic of Indonesia and President Barack Obama of the United States," November 18, 2011, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/18/joint-statement-president-susiloi-bambang-yudhoyono-republic-indonesia-0> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>103</sup>Matt Compton, "President Obama at the East Asia Summit," November 18, 2011, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/11/18/president-obama-east-asia-summit> (accessed May 1, 2013).

Australia, and New Zealand. U.S. attendance at the event was important for the region. The new Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta, also visited Indonesia in 2011.<sup>104</sup> In addition to his meeting with the Indonesia's new Defense Minister, Purnomo Yusgiantoro, Panetta also met with President Yudhoyono. He discussed the offer of Indonesia to purchase the U.S. refurbished F-16s for Indonesia.<sup>105</sup> The offer indicates willingness by the U.S. government to help modernize Indonesia's military which suffered during the "IMET Ban" period.

Following Panetta's visit, Secretary Clinton made her second visit to Indonesia in 2012. She met with President Yudhoyono and discussed a number of important issues.<sup>106</sup> Similar to the previous visit, Clinton's trip to Indonesia demonstrated U.S. positive intention to be part of the process of helping Indonesia grow as a mature democratic country. In the same year, the U.S. also offered to sell AH-64 helicopter for the Indonesian Army's aviation unit.<sup>107</sup> The offer has been viewed by the two countries as an indicator of a good defense relation.

In addition to both presidential and ministerial visits, U.S. military officials have also conducted trips to Indonesia. USPACOM commander who supervises military-to-

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<sup>104</sup>Karen Parrish, "Panetta: U.S.-Indonesia Security Partnership Expanding," October, 23 2011, <http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=65768> (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>105</sup>ANTARA News, "RI Negotiating F-16 Aircraft Purchase Deal with US," Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, October 25, 2011, <http://www.embassyofindonesia.org/news/2011/10/news087.htm> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>106</sup>Victoria Nuland, "Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's Travel to the Cook Islands, Indonesia, China, Timor-Leste, Brunei, and Russia," August 28, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/08/196968.htm> (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>107</sup>McBeth, "Indonesian Military No Longer Pariah in US Eyes."

military activities with Indonesia within his Area of Responsibility (AOR) has met several times with the Indonesian military's supreme commander and Minister of Defense. Among them is Admiral Timothy J. Keating who made his trip to Indonesia in March 2007.<sup>108</sup> He lauded the U.S.-Indonesia relations and proposed a stronger cooperation. The recent visit made by the USPACOM commander was in February 2013 when Admiral Samuel J. Locklear went to Jakarta and met with some defense officials.<sup>109</sup>

In the same year, USPACOM was represented by USARPAC in organizing together with the Indonesian military the 6th Annual Pacific Resilience Disaster Response Expert Exchange.<sup>110</sup> The annual event was held for four days in Malang and involved both military and civilian participants. The intention of the event was to help build the regional preparedness in dealing with all-hazard situations. Since Southeast Asia is in the midst of the ring of fire, many Southeast Asia countries are vulnerable to volcano eruption. Thus, the Disaster Response Expert Exchange allows the U.S. and Indonesian militaries to facilitate a sharing and exchange of knowledge which may help manage any volcano response effort. Over 80 delegates representing more than 20 countries and international organizations took part in the event. Presentations, problem-

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<sup>108</sup>Donna Miles, "PaCom Chief Lauds U.S.-Indonesian Ties, Urges Closer Cooperation," April 10, 2008, <http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=49526> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>109</sup>ANTARA News, "Pacom Commander Visits RI," Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, February 11, 2013, <http://www.embassyofindonesia.org/news/2013/02/news040.htm> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>110</sup>U.S. Pacific Command, "Present with a Purpose," <http://www.pacom.mil/about-uspacom/presence-with-a-purpose/201205.shtml> (accessed May 3, 2013).

solving sessions, a practical exercise, and a site visit to Indonesia's civilian-military disaster rapid response team headquarters for the eastern sector, dominated the event.<sup>111</sup>

Nonetheless, during the ongoing "IMET Restoration" period, there is still a constraint on managing the relations between the U.S. and Indonesia. The Leahy Amendment which was adopted in 1997 is still being implemented for the Indonesian military.<sup>112</sup> In fact, Kopassus, Indonesian Special Forces, is excluded from taking part in any IMET program. Though the U.S. government has officially announced a resumption of the cooperation with Kopassus, the unit still has not received any approval for participation. This limits the interaction between the U.S. special operations forces and the Indonesian Army's Special Forces, Kopassus. However, the two governments are still working to manage the issue for the betterment of the relations.

#### Indonesian Government

Meanwhile, for Indonesia, the "IMET Restoration" period has allowed the country to reengage with the U.S. A positive attitude has been demonstrated by the Indonesian government during this period. In the early phase of this period, President Yudhoyono just won the first democratic election and started his administration. As a graduate of various U.S. civil and military education programs, he understood the strategic importance of a good defense relation between the two countries. Hence, he has highlighted that as a growing democracy Indonesia needs to collaborate with other democracies, like the U.S. In fact, Yudhoyono himself has been viewed as key actor who

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>Comer, "Leahy in Indonesia," 58.

helped the country develop as a democratic country in the past. He was involved in the reform process of the Indonesian military which contributed significantly to the Indonesia's national reform.<sup>113</sup>

Thus, after taking his office, President Yudhoyono commenced his effort to improve interaction in defense matters with the U.S. Continuing his predecessor's policy on counter-terrorism; he sees the need for a more collaborative effort in dealing with terrorism. His previous experience as a Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Human Rights Affairs helped him understand the issue of combating terrorism.<sup>114</sup> In dealing with terrorism, Yudhoyono's administration has worked with the U.S. in intelligence sharing and building the Indonesian counter-terrorism capability.

President Yudhoyono has also made several trips to the U.S. The first trip that he made was in 2005. In that year he was inducted into the International Hall of Fame at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC) at Fort Leavenworth.<sup>115</sup> Later on he visited the U.S. to attend annual events like the G-20 Summit and the General Assembly. While visiting the country he met the U.S. presidents and discuss various important issues concerning the relations between the two countries. In 2009, after taking part in the G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh, President Yudhoyono also visited Harvard

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<sup>113</sup>H. E. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, *The Muslim 500*, <http://themuslim500.com/profile/president-susilo-bambang-yudhoyono> (accessed May 3, 2013).

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup>Jesse Truesdale, "Fort Leavenworth honors president of Indonesia," September 12, 2005, [http://www.basehorinfo.com/news/2005/sep/12/fort\\_leavenworth\\_honors\\_president\\_indonesia/](http://www.basehorinfo.com/news/2005/sep/12/fort_leavenworth_honors_president_indonesia/) (accessed May 3, 2013).

University.<sup>116</sup> At that time, his son was studying at the John F. Kennedy School of Government which is one of the prestigious schools at the university. His visit at Harvard was viewed positively by many U.S. officials and the public.

As a president, Yudhoyono has built a good personal relationship with U.S. presidents, Bush and Obama. This relationship contributes to construct good relations between the two countries. Nevertheless, during his administration, there have been a number of criticisms of the growing of the U.S.-Indonesia relations. Some critics have questioned the sincerity of the U.S. attitude towards Indonesia. Due to the past bad experience suffered in the “IMET Ban” period, those criticisms remind the Indonesian government to review its stance in reengaging with the U.S., in particular in purchasing the U.S. defense articles. In fact, it has also created paranoid toward western power like the U.S.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, the Yudhoyono administration could counter the criticisms and convince that the process in interacting with the U.S. would also help advance Indonesia’s interest.

Throughout the “IMET Restoration” period, Indonesia has been able to seek mutual and complementary interests with the U.S. Counter-terrorism is one of the key issues which has strengthened the partnership. Additionally, maritime security has also been stressed as an opportunity for cooperation with the Malacca strait in its key role for

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<sup>116</sup>ANTARA, “SBY attends Harvard University Forum,” *Jakarta Post*, September 29, 2009, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/09/29/sby-attends-harvard-university-forum.html> (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>117</sup>Haseman and Lachica, “Getting Indonesia Right,” 91.

U.S. trade becoming the area of cooperation.<sup>118</sup> Piracy which has impacted many ships in the strait, including the U.S. ones, has encouraged the two countries to cooperate. Furthermore, the regional stability which has been challenged by tensions in the South China Sea has also motivated both countries to intensify their collaboration.<sup>119</sup> These issues have helped the Indonesian government construct a better mutual and complementary relationship with the U.S.

### Indonesian Military

In line with the efforts made by the Indonesian government, the Indonesian military has also attempted to manage its reengagement with their U.S. counterparts during the “IMET Restoration” period. Past bad experiences which had limited interaction between the two militaries have been put aside. A growing number of Indonesian military personnel have taken part in the IMET program. From FY 2006-2011, Indonesia sent 486 personnel to the U.S.<sup>120</sup> This was almost double the number of personnel who were sent by the Indonesian military through alternate programs used during the “IMET Ban” period. In fact, the IMET budget, which was provided for the

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<sup>118</sup>Bill Tarrant, “Balancing powers in the Malacca Strait,” *Reuters*, March 7, 2010, <http://blogs.reuters.com/global/2010/03/07/balancing-powers-in-the-malacca-strait/> (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>119</sup>Patrick M. Cronin and Alexander Sullivan, “America and the South China Sea Challenge,” *Diplomat*, May 3, 2013, <http://www.cnas.org/americaandthesouthchinaseachallenge> (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>120</sup>Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “Fiscal Year Series” 66-67.



Indonesian military from FY 2009-2011, indicated a substantial increase which almost matched the allocations for the Philippines and Thailand.<sup>121</sup>

Additionally, the Indonesian military has also participated in many joint exercises, both bilaterally and multilaterally. Since 2006, Indonesia has participated in the Cobra Gold exercise which is organized by the U.S. cooperating with Thailand as the host country.<sup>122</sup> This is an annual exercise which also involves several other countries. Indonesia's first engagement with the Cobra Gold exercise was started with an observer team. However, in the following years, the Indonesian military became a full participant in the event.

In addition to regional joint exercises, the Indonesian military worked with the U.S. in organizing bilateral joint exercises. Garuda Shield which focuses on a peacekeeping scenario has been held for the last few years.<sup>123</sup> Additionally, for the first time, Garuda Shadow was conducted by the Indonesian Presidential Protective Forces together with their U.S. counterpart in 2009.<sup>124</sup> The unit which recruits special operations forces from the three services of the Indonesian military was able to train together with the U.S. Navy Seals and the U.S. Army Special Forces. Moreover, several other joint

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<sup>121</sup>Defense Security Cooperation Agency, "International Military Education and Training Program/Deliveries," *Historical Facts Book* (Washington, DC: Defense Security Cooperation Agency, September 30, 2011), 89.

<sup>122</sup>Peacock, "Cobra Gold begins in Thailand."

<sup>123</sup>Christina Douglas, "U.S., Indonesia partner for Exercise Garuda Shield 2011," *Army*, June 12, 2011, <http://www.army.mil/article/59478/> (accessed May 1, 2013).

<sup>124</sup>The author was assigned as Liaison Officer and Coordinator for the joint exercise.

exercises have also been executed by every service which improved people to people contacts and intensified the interaction between the two militaries.

Though there is still a ban imposed on Kopassus and Indonesian military personnel who have bad human rights records, the Indonesian military has been able to leverage its relationship during this “IMET Restoration” period. Many new programs have been offered for the Indonesian military. Among them is the flight training course which is included in the IMET program. Since Indonesia is planning to purchase 24 refurbished F-16s from the U.S., pilot training has become a key issue.<sup>125</sup> Therefore, the Indonesian Air Force has sent numerous officers to train in the U.S. This trend will reduce the need for the pilot training program in Russia. The training was started in the “IMET Ban” period due to the purchase of Sukhoi by the Indonesian government as an alternate solution to deal with U.S. embargo on selling equipment to the Indonesian military.<sup>126</sup>

Along with the mutual priority of interest viewed at the national level, the Indonesian military also attempts to advance its interest by its reengagement with the U.S. military. In the “IMET Restoration” period, the Indonesian military has also planned to reengage with the U.S. in helping its modernization. With the plan of purchasing the AH-64 helicopters, the Indonesian Army attempts to develop its new attack aviation unit

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<sup>125</sup>ANTARA News, “RI Negotiating F-16 Aircraft Purchase Deal with US.”

<sup>126</sup>Jon Grevatt, “Indonesia looks to Russian technology deal to boost defence industry,” *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, September 23, 2010, <https://janes.ihs.com.lumen.cgscarl.com/CustomPages/Janes/DisplayPage.aspx?DocType=News&ItemId=+++1184829> (accessed February 23, 2013).

to help maintain Indonesia's territorial integrity.<sup>127</sup> The process of buying the helicopters is still ongoing. The two countries have organized several meetings at multi-level to help finalize the process.

### Conclusion

During the "IMET Restoration" period, both the U.S. and Indonesia have managed to work closely in advancing their mutual and complementary interests. Counter-terrorism operations along with the issue of maritime security, including dealing with piracy in Malacca Strait, have highlighted the interaction between the two countries. Additionally, regional stability which has been challenged by several incidents in the South China Sea has also encouraged both governments to increase their cooperation. Moreover, the modernization agenda developed by the Indonesian military has also created an opportunity for a greater collaboration with the U.S. counterparts.

In recent years, there have been a growing number of Indonesian military personnel attending the IMET program in the U.S. In fact, the IMET budget allocated for the Indonesian military has also gone up in the last few years achieving a similar amount which have been enjoyed by the Philippines and Thailand, the two countries which have established mutual defense agreement with the U.S. Similarly, at the international level, President Yudhoyono has interacted positively with the U.S. presidents, both President Bush and Obama.

The shift of priority of interest which has started at the end of the "IMET Ban" period has dominated the "IMET Restoration" period. The shift has helped the two

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<sup>127</sup>McBeth, "Indonesian Military No Longer Pariah in US Eyes."

countries build stronger ties which can facilitate their mutual and complementary interests as mentioned above. The roles played by each nation's presidents have contributed significantly in improving and maintaining the U.S.-Indonesian defense relations. Simultaneously, both U.S. and Indonesian administrations have been able to cooperate and identify important strategic areas for their reengagement. This has allowed more contacts at various levels which contribute in the overall process of developing a good U.S.-Indonesia defense relation.

Therefore, although a few members of Congress have tried to limit the defense interaction of the U.S. and Indonesia due to past human rights records, the two countries have been able to move forward. Currently, the Leahy Amendment still applies for Indonesian military personnel in the IMET program. Due to this condition, the IMET program has excluded the Indonesian Army Special Forces, Kopassus, and several personnel who have been identified with human rights violations. Yet, this amendment has not significantly influenced the growing relations between the two countries.

The increase of IMET participants in the "IMET Restoration" period will allow the Indonesian military to access more U.S. professional military education which has been limited in the "IMET Ban" period. By having this access, the Indonesian military can develop more modern doctrine and tactics adopting the doctrine of the best military in the world. Most of the Indonesian military's doctrine and tactics in the past were adopted from the U.S. Therefore, the "IMET Restoration" period offers a promising future for a better engagement between the two countries and militaries. Mutual and complementary interests should be able to sustain these good relations over time.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Indonesia has provided an excellent lesson...The United States is enjoying a honeymoon here that would have been unimaginable a few years ago.<sup>128</sup>

— Senator SeanWiley, *The United States*

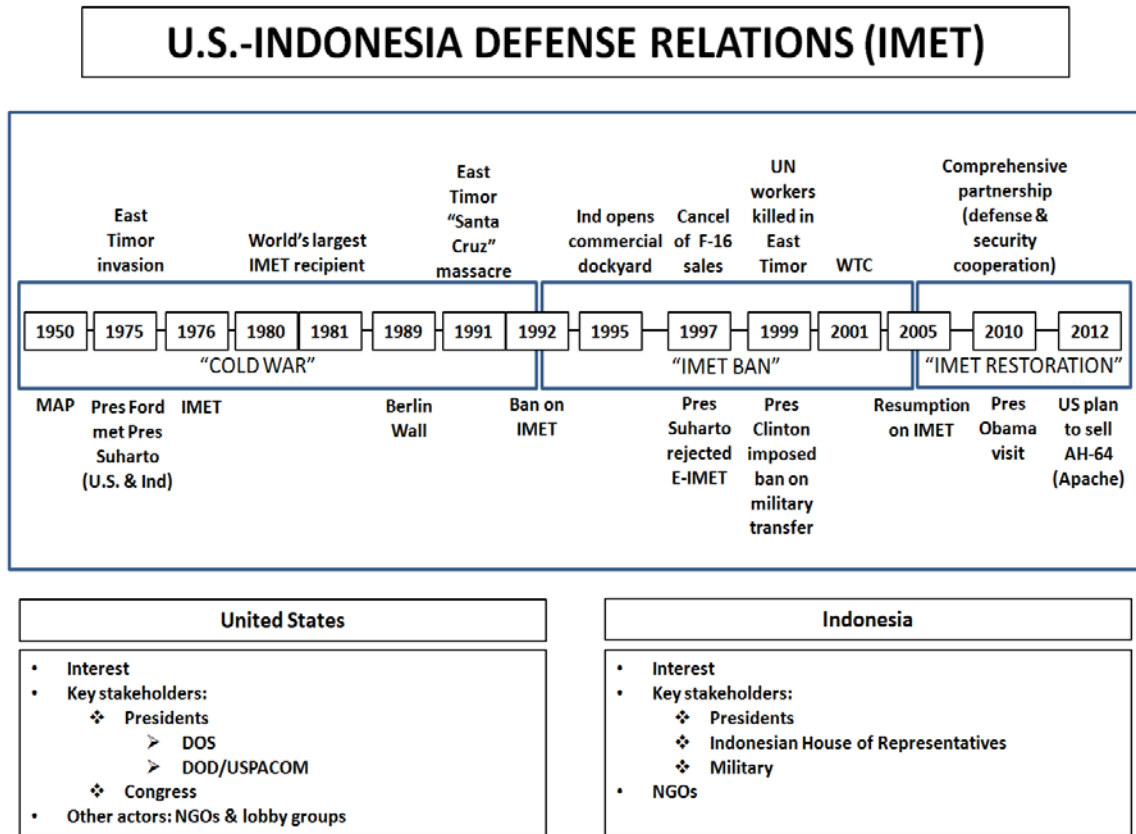


Figure 4. U.S.-Indonesia Defense Relations (IMET) Timeline from 1976-2012

*Source:* Created by author from Ann Marie Murphy, "US Rapprochement with Indonesia: From Problem State to Partner," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2010): 362-87; Charles Ken Comer, "Leahy in Indonesia: Damned if You Do (and Even if You Don't Do)," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, no. 37 (2010): 53-70.

<sup>128</sup>Mrazek, *The United States and the Indonesian Military 1945-1965*, 7.

## Overview

As the third largest democracy and the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia plays a key role in the Asia-Pacific region. Its strategic location, geographically connecting two oceans and continents has also made the country a hub for the region. Based on current developments in the region, counter-terrorism, maritime security, and regional stability have become more important. Indonesia is viewed as a strong potential strategic partner for the U.S. Therefore, a good U.S.-Indonesia defense relationship is critical to positive nation-to-nation relations.

In the period after Indonesia's independence, the United States contributed to helping the Indonesian military develop its capabilities. A significant amount of U.S. support has been provided through the Military Assistance Program (MAP), and later security assistance programs like IMET. In fact, in terms of capacity building, U.S. professional military education programs which are organized under IMET are considered as prestigious for Indonesian military personnel. Many Indonesian military top leaders are graduates of the IMET programs during both President Sukarno and President Suharto's administrations. For example, General Ahmad Yani, General Widodo, and General R. Hartono, are among those who graduated from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.<sup>129</sup>

However, the relations between the two countries experienced a bad period during the implementation of a Congressional ban on the Indonesian military participating in the IMET program, from 1992-2005. This "IMET ban" period restricted many Indonesian

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<sup>129</sup>Six Indonesian Generals, including President Yudhoyono, have been inducted as the International Hall of Fame at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

military personnel from following their predecessors' footsteps. When the "Santa Cruz" massacre occurred in East Timor, Indonesia, in November 1991, the U.S. Congress, encouraged by NGOs and human rights lobby groups, imposed a ban on IMET for Indonesia. The ban was officially announced in 1992 and followed by several other bans and embargos by the U.S. government on Indonesian military.

Previous relations that allowed the Indonesian military personnel to study and modernize their military by adopting U.S. doctrine suffered due to this circumstance. Although a number of attempts were taken by the U.S. government and military to continue the IMET program for Indonesia, the attempts were not successful. The main reason for the U.S. change of its approach was the end of Cold War era which was marked by the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and dissolution of the Soviet Union. This event started the shift of U.S. stance in the international politics from Cold War anti-communism to increased concerns for human rights.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian government and military, focused on unifying the nation, still exercised the similar approach they had used in the past in managing conflicts in the province of East Timor. A repressive approach was used by Suharto's administration in combating the insurgents in the area. In fact, the military was also employed to monitor and deal with any local resistance. It was no surprise when demonstrators conducted their action at the Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991; the military responded aggressively by firing on the civilians and killed at least 50 among them. The incident shocked the world including the U.S. which resulted in the ban on IMET.

Despite the good relations managed in the previous period, the interaction between the two countries and their militaries was seriously degraded. The "IMET Ban"

period began with the Congressional ban, restricted a large number of programs and activities with the Indonesian military. Similarly, Indonesia's access to U.S. aid to its military capacity building was terminated. The poor relations resulted in the cancellation of the F-16s sales to the Indonesian Air Force in 1997 and Indonesia's refusal to accept the E-IMET program. The cancellation was decided by President Suharto since he considered the IMET ban to have humiliated his country. Indonesia perceived that the U.S. had pressured Indonesia more than other Southeast Asian countries, like Philippines and Thailand.

Nevertheless, the 2001 WTC and Pentagon tragedy caused the U.S. to shift its priority of interest to changing its approach towards Indonesian government and military. The need to cooperate with the Muslim-dominated country Indonesia encouraged the Bush administration to take the initiative in resuming the IMET program. IMET has been viewed as an indicator of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations in addition to other security assistance programs such as Foreign Military Sales. After a few years of struggle and negotiations with the Congress, eventually the Bush administration convinced the U.S. Congress to approve the resumption of IMET. In 2005, the U.S. government officially announced the full resumption of the IMET program for Indonesia.

Since then, the defense relations between the two countries and militaries have greatly improved. Various visits conducted by presidents, secretary of state, and secretary of defense from the two countries have helped intensify the interaction between U.S. and Indonesia. In 2010, both President Obama and President Yudhoyono officially announced the commitment of the two administrations to establish and maintain a comprehensive



partnership. The partnership includes defense and security cooperation, including the IMET program for the Indonesian military.

In recent years, the U.S. has not only provided an increasing amount for the IMET budget for the Indonesian military, but has also offered defense articles thus helping the military modernization of Indonesia. The U.S. government proposed to hand over 24 F-16s to the Indonesian Air Force in 2011. The offer was accepted and in fact the Indonesian government decided to upgrade the aircrafts before receiving them from the U.S. government. In addition, the U.S. also offered to sell Apache helicopters to the Indonesian Army. This offer of AH-64s indicates that the U.S. considers Indonesia a key strategic partner in the Southeast Asia region even though there is no formal alliance. Generally the U.S. only offers AH-64s to trusted partners. Nevertheless, there is still a limitation on allowing the Indonesia's Kopassus members to attend a professional military education in the U.S. The improving relations between the two countries should be able to address remaining issues such as the issue of IMET training for Kopassus.

In regards to U.S.-Indonesia defense relations, IMET has been viewed as one of the key parameters to measure the status of relations. Therefore, this thesis has analyzed the IMET program for the Indonesian military in three different historical periods. The "Cold War" period is the first period. In this period, the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations indicated a good and positive interaction which allowed many Indonesian military personnel to take part in IMET program. However, the Congressional ban which was issued in 1992 after the "Santa Cruz" incident marks the end of this period.

The second period is the "IMET Ban" period. This period was started right after the U.S. Congress imposed the ban on the Indonesian military to access the U.S. IMET

program. During this period, there were several efforts made by the two countries to restore and resume the IMET program for Indonesia. Nonetheless, Congress resisted those pressures and another incident in which three UN workers were killed by militias in East Timor in 1999 complicated the progress. More pressures were applied to Indonesia after the incident.

Nevertheless, the thesis identifies that this period ended in 2005 when the U.S. decided to resume the IMET program for the Indonesian military which leads to the third period, the “IMET Restoration” period. During this period as explained earlier the relations between the two countries have shown a positive trend. Strong U.S.-Indonesia defense relations have dominated the interaction between U.S. and Indonesian government and military. Many engagements have been performed to leverage the interaction. U.S. offer to sell defense articles to the Indonesian military and the increasing number of Indonesian participants in the IMET program are two of the parameters that indicates strong relations.

Having observed and analyzed the three key historical periods, it is evident that there are four important factors which have influenced the process of granting the IMET program for Indonesia. First, is the mutual interest between the two countries. When both U.S. and Indonesia have mutual and complementary interests, the defense relations between the two are positive which facilitates access to IMET program for the Indonesian military personnel. This was shown during the “Cold War” period when the countries worked to contain communism.

In the same way, during the “IMET Restoration” period when the two countries worked to combat terrorism and strove to maintain regional security and stability, the

relations indicated a positive trend which provided more access for the Indonesian military to participate in U.S. professional military education as part of the IMET program.

However, when there were conflicting priority of interest between the two countries, good relations were difficult to maintain. At the end of the “Cold War” period when the Berlin Wall collapsed and the U.S. had no more near-peer competitor, the U.S. shifted its priority of interest from containing communism to supporting human rights as part of democracy. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government focused on its territorial integrity and unity even if detrimental to human rights. This conflicting priority of interest resulted in the IMET ban imposed by the U.S. Congress after the Indonesian military killed 50 civilians in the “Santa Cruz” tragedy in 1991. The conflicting interest between the two countries lasted until 2001 and changed only after the WTC and Pentagon terrorist attacks.

The second factor is the domestic politics in the two countries. Politics itself covers the role of the executive and legislative branches, especially in the U.S. The president and his administration play an important role in maintaining the defense relations with a partner country like Indonesia. During the “Cold War” period, President Ford approved the plan proposed by President Suharto to deal with East Timor in a meeting at Camp David in 1975. Similarly, the U.S. military which was represented by USPACOM also provided assistance for the Indonesian military. By the same token, President Carter, Reagan, and Bush also expressed their willingness to support Indonesia in containing the sphere of influence of communism and dealing with its internal communist threat.

Nevertheless, the situation was a bit different when President Clinton was in the office. He started his administration when the IMET ban had been imposed by the U.S. Congress. With the pressures he had from the Congress, he had limited flexibility in maintaining the relations with Indonesia. In fact, he imposed a ban on military transfer for Indonesia in 1999 after the killing of three UN workers in East Timor. He also put pressure on Indonesian government to invite an international presence to help dealing with the East Timor issue. Different attitudes demonstrated by the U.S. presidents highlight the importance of the role of president as part of the politics factor.

Similarly, the role of the President of the Republic of Indonesia is also critical in maintaining defense relations between the two countries. President Suharto had a very good relationship with the U.S. presidents during the “Cold War” period. He made several visits to the U.S. while he was in office. He also accepted a number of visits organized by the U.S. presidents. However, by the end of the period, President Suharto felt that Congressional ban had humiliated Indonesia. This consideration encouraged him to refuse the E-IMET program and cancel the plan to buy the F-16s offered by the U.S. government.

By the same token, other presidents like Megawati and President Yudhoyono, also demonstrated their influence in the process. Megawati visited the U.S. just a few days after the WTC incident which signaled a positive gesture for cooperating with the U.S. in dealing with terrorism. In the same way, President Yudhoyono also accepted the U.S. offer to help in coping with the post tsunami relief operations. It is obvious that the roles of the presidents of the two countries are critical in shaping the political process.

Nevertheless, the decision making process of determining U.S. aid to Indonesia is heavily influenced by the U.S. Congress. As a country which grants the IMET program for partner countries, the U.S. has full authority to decide who receives it and how much. Since the U.S. Congress controls the appropriation of money, its approval is required for countries to receive IMET funds. Therefore, U.S. Congress is also viewed as a key player in the politics. Due to the Congressional ban on IMET fund to Indonesia imposed in 1992 the U.S. government and military were restricted from providing the IMET program to Indonesia. Despite the efforts to influence the Congress, the IMET program was still constrained by the limitation set by the Congress. In fact, the Leahy Amendment which was proposed in 1997 put more restriction on the Indonesian military since it requires a vetting process to certify whether the candidate for the IMET program is free from any human rights violation record.

In contrast, the role of Indonesia's House of Representatives is not as influential as the U.S. Congress in the 1990s. The decision to cancel the purchase of F-16s and refuse the offered E-IMET program was taken by President Suharto without consulting with the House of Representatives. Additionally, there was no solid interaction between Indonesia's House of Representatives and the U.S. Congress. In fact, Indonesia also did not have pro Indonesian NGOs and lobby groups which could influence the Congress in the U.S. Unlike its neighboring country, Philippines, Indonesia was not able to counter NGOs and lobby groups which focused on human rights issue. When the East Timor massacre was brought to the U.S. Congress, the IMET ban on Indonesian military was subsequently imposed.

The third factor which should be accounted in the analysis is the role of military from the two countries in defense relations. In the first period, both militaries had a very good interaction. Since many Indonesian military personnel received some of their professional military education in the U.S., they adopted the U.S. doctrine in their organization. Additionally, Indonesia also used a large amount of U.S. military equipment, including aircraft and weapons. Though the U.S. Congress had imposed IMET ban on Indonesian military after the East Timor massacre, the U.S. military still attempted to maintain the connection with their Indonesian counterparts.

USPACOM commanders, like Admiral Blair, testified before the Senate and highlighted the importance on maintaining good relations with Indonesia. He proposed that IMET program would help the U.S. engage with the Indonesian military. Furthermore, the USPACOM also developed an alternate way by organizing the JCET program for Indonesia's special operations forces. Yet, the program was ended in 1998 when the Congress put pressure on Clinton's administration to restrict all engagement with the Indonesian military. In addition to JCET, the U.S. military recommended the E-IMET program as a solution to facilitate access for the Indonesian military to the IMET program. Despite all the ups and downs throughout the period, the U.S. military managed to stay close with the Indonesian military. When the full resumption was granted, the U.S. military started to intensify its interaction with Indonesia's armed forces. However, Kopassus is still being limited by the Leahy Amendment due to its past record on human rights issue. It is clear that military plays an essential role in influencing the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations.

The fourth important factor to consider is other players like NGOs or lobby groups. As explained earlier in the analysis, both NGOs and lobby groups were able to influence the U.S. Congress. Those NGOs and lobby groups which focused on human rights issue shared their concerns with the Congress. Since the Congress plays a key role in the budget and therefore the decision making process, the efforts of those groups influenced the decisions. As a result, a ban was imposed on the Indonesian military from accessing the U.S. IMET program. So, in understanding the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations, it is also necessary to take into account other players like NGOs and lobby groups.

#### Thesis/Research Question

Based on the analysis on the three different historical periods, this thesis answered the first secondary research question which is “What are the factors and actors that have affected the U.S. International Military Education and Training program for Indonesia?”. As discussed earlier, these factors and actors are mutual priority of interests, political factors including the role of executive and legislative branches, the role of the military, and also other players like NGOs and lobby groups. These factors and actors influence the U.S. IMET program for Indonesia. This leads to the answer for the next secondary question which is “How have changes in the U.S., Indonesia, and the Indonesian military affected the IMET program for Indonesia?” The dynamics which involves all those factors and actors has dominated the interaction between the U.S and Indonesia that affects the decision making concerning IMET for Indonesian military. Therefore, based on the analysis, this thesis proposes a number of recommendations which will be covered

in the next section. These recommendations help answer the third secondary question which is “How can the U.S. IMET program for Indonesian military grow in the future?”

Meanwhile, the fourth secondary question which is “What are the current directions and obstacles for the U.S. IMET program for the Indonesian military?” is answered by the presence of limitation imposed on Indonesia’s Kopassus. Currently, Kopassus personnel are still being restricted from taking part in the IMET program. And for the current direction issue, despite that limitation, the allocation of IMET budget for Indonesian military has been increasing. In fact, if it is compared with Philippines and Thailand which have established mutual defense agreement with the U.S. the amount is similar.

### Recommendation

Having observed the developments in recent years, it is palpable that the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations have indicated a positive trend close to what was demonstrated during the early phase of the “Cold War” period. This situation was enabled because of the mutual and complementary priority of interests. Thus, to strengthen the defense relations between the two countries, it is very important to maintain the efforts in identifying mutual and complementary interest of both U.S. and Indonesia. For future engagement, both governments and militaries should be able to manage interaction which may facilitate the process of pursuing their mutual and complementary interests. Having the same understanding will allow the Indonesian military to access the U.S. IMET program. Therefore, this thesis proposes three recommendations that may construct an answer for the primary research question which is “How can the United States-Indonesia defense relations be strengthened?”



First, the Indonesian government needs to consider approaching friendly lobby groups which can help influence and neutralize any negative stance on Indonesia. With the presence of Indonesian diaspora in the U.S., the government may use them as part of the lobby groups which can facilitate the process. Moreover, Indonesian representatives in the U.S. may also assist in lobbying Indonesia's interest which relates to defense relations. As practiced by other countries, Indonesian representatives may intensify their interactions with members of the U.S. Congress since their role is highly influential. Their update and explanation on recent democratic process and development in Indonesia may help neutralize any negative perception towards the country. In fact, their input will help the U.S. Congress monitor the progress in Indonesia.

Second, Indonesian executive branch may also think of collaborating with the Indonesian House of Representatives to establish people-to-people contact with U.S. Congress members. Good personal relations may assist in constructing an interaction between the U.S. and Indonesia. Reciprocal visits and meetings between them may help the U.S. Congress identify the progress which has been achieved by the Indonesian government in transitioning to a democratic country. Indonesia can host U.S. Congressional delegation and allow them to observe the progress of its democratic reform. Should there be any critical issue arises, the U.S. Congress may hear from their Indonesian counterparts directly. Nevertheless, this will require a good relationship between the Indonesian executive branch with the House of Representatives, in particular the Committee for International Relations and Defense. In addition, both Indonesian government and House of Representatives should also understand the complexity of U.S. political system which may change between terms.

Third, Indonesian government should anticipate any future human rights violation which may generate international attention, in particular the U.S. Congress. Currently, Papua to some extent has become such an issue that could possibly develop into a problem for Indonesia in the future. In managing Papua, Indonesia needs to be very careful so it will not resemble the same scenario which occurred in East Timor during the 1990s. Awareness of human rights issues by the Indonesian military is critical in helping deal with the separatism problem in that province. Maintaining the territorial integrity and unity of Indonesia can be performed concurrently with the respect for human rights as recognized by the international community.

#### Area for Further Research

The thesis focuses on the analysis on IMET program as a key parameter of the U.S.-Indonesia defense relations. Nevertheless, in addition to IMET, there are also some other security assistance programs which may be used in viewing the defense relations between the two countries. Therefore, for further research, this thesis recommends such studies cover Foreign Military Sales, Foreign Military Financing, Defense Articles Drawdowns, and other related programs. It will be good if further research can focus on identifying the contribution between those different programs to overall U.S.-Indonesia defense relations.

## APPENDIX A

### Map of the Republic of Indonesia



Source: CIA Maps, Indonesia Administrative 2002, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/cia-maps-publications/Indonesia.html> (accessed May 24, 2013).

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